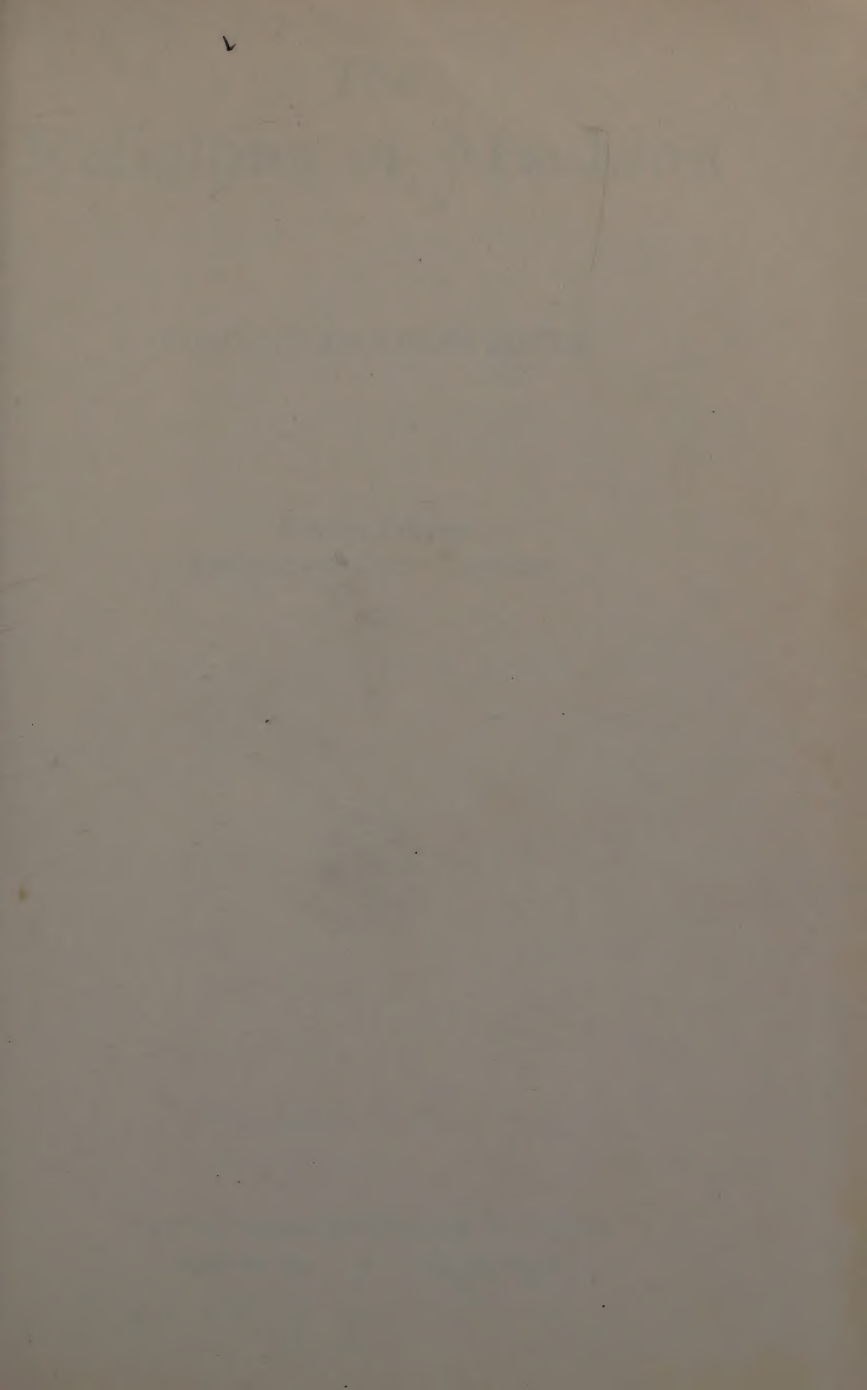




Rutherford County Library
Rutherfordton, N. C.



The Religions of Mankind

EDMUND DAVISON SOPER

Revised Edition
Enlarged and Partly Rewritten



Rutherford County Library
Rutherfordton, N. C.

ABINGDON-COKESBURY PRESS
NEW YORK • NASHVILLE

Wartime Books

Wartime shortage of pulp, manpower, and transportation has produced a severe shortage of paper. In compliance with orders of the War Production Board, wartime books are printed on lighter-weight paper. This reduces thickness and weight. New books have more words to the page and smaller margins. This reduces the number of pages without reducing reading content.

Thinner books save paper, critical copper, and other metals. They help also to avoid wartime increases in book prices. Wartime books appear to be smaller, but their content has not been cut. They are complete. The only change is in appearance.

230
S

Copyright, 1921, by
EDMUND DAVISON SOPER

Copyright, 1938, by
EDMUND DAVISON SOPER

All rights reserved—no part of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publisher, except by a reviewer who wishes to quote brief passages in connection with a review written for inclusion in magazine or newspaper.

8

To THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER

8747- 51

22209

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE TO REVISED EDITION.....	11
PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.....	13

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF RELIGION

THE APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF RELIGION.....	15
THE FITTING ATTITUDE TOWARD OTHER FAITHS.....	19
THE NATURE OF RELIGION.....	23
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	34

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF RELIGION

THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION.....	35
THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION.....	47
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	54

CHAPTER III

ANIMISTIC RELIGION

ANIMISTIC PEOPLES AND THEIR HABITAT.....	55
ANIMISM AND THE MYSTERIOUS POWER.....	61
THE HIGHER POWERS OF ANIMISTIC RELIGION.....	64
TOTEMISM AND TABOO.....	75
ANIMISTIC WORSHIP.....	79
MAGIC AND RELIGION.....	86
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	90

CHAPTER IV

EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA

THE NILE VALLEY AND ITS INHABITANTS.....	91
THE EGYPTIAN PANTHEON.....	95
THE INDIVIDUAL HERE AND HEREAFTER.....	103
THE GODS OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.....	108
MAN'S APPROACH TO THE DIVINE POWERS.....	113
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	116

CHAPTER V

GREECE AND ROME

	PAGE
RELIGION BEFORE HOMER.....	117
THE HOMERIC CONTRIBUTION.....	121
THE MYSTERIES.....	123
THE PHILOSOPHERS.....	127
EARLY ROMAN RELIGION.....	131
THE CONTACT WITH GREECE.....	135
THE INFLUENCE OF THE EAST.....	139
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	143

CHAPTER VI

THE RELIGION OF ZOROASTER

THE INDO-EUROPEANS AND THEIR RELIGION.....	145
ZOROASTER AND HIS REFORMATION.....	148
DEVELOPMENT SINCE ZOROASTER.....	154
THE PARSIS OF THE PRESENT DAY.....	158
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	162

CHAPTER VII

HINDUISM

THE RELIGION OF THE VEDAS.....	163
THE PHILOSOPHIC DEVELOPMENT.....	170
THE CASTE SYSTEM.....	173
HINDUISM SINCE THE RISE OF BUDDHISM.....	181
MODERN REFORM MOVEMENTS.....	186
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	191

CHAPTER VIII

BUDDHISM

GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA.....	192
EARLY BUDDHISM.....	199
HINAYANA AND MAHAYANA.....	209
BUDDHISM AMONG THE PEOPLES.....	215
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	223

CHAPTER IX

THE RELIGION OF THE CHINESE

	PAGE
THE EARLY RELIGION.....	224
CONFUCIUS AND HIS CONTRIBUTION.....	230
LAO CIUS AND TAOISM.....	237
CHINESE BUDDHISM.....	240
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	244

CHAPTER X

THE RELIGIONS OF JAPAN

SHINTO	246
THE COMING OF BUDDHISM.....	251
THE ADOPTION OF CONFUCIANISM.....	261
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	266

CHAPTER XI

JUDAISM

THE SEMITIC BACKGROUND.....	267
THE HERITAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.....	270
JUDAISM SINCE THE TIME OF CHRIST.....	274
ORTHODOXY AND REFORM.....	280
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	285

CHAPTER XII

MOHAMMEDANISM

THE PROPHET.....	286
FAITH AND PRACTICE.....	297
THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM.....	306
ISLAM IN THE WORLD TODAY.....	312
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	316

CHAPTER XIII

CHRISTIANITY

JESUS CHRIST.....	318
DEVELOPMENT OF LIFE AND TEACHING.....	325
THE CHURCH AND ITS EXPANSION.....	334
CHRISTIANITY SINCE THE WORLD WAR.....	340
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....	349
INDEX	351

PREFACE TO REVISED EDITION

IN the seventeen years since the appearance of the first edition much has taken place. A flood of books and articles has appeared which shed much light and make necessary changes and corrections in many places. During this period the living religions themselves have been subjected to powerful influences and have changed, sometimes to a surprising degree. The attempt has been made to bring this work into harmony with what the best scholarship has shown to be a reasonable attitude to the many questions with which it deals.

In addition to this every sentence has been scrutinized to determine whether the intended meaning has been conveyed and whether an amplification was necessary to bring out that meaning and let it be seen in its true light. This has necessitated many changes and additions, short and long. Very few pages in the volume remain just as they were in the earlier edition. The additions might have been longer and more numerous. Only considerations of space in an introductory manual have prevented an enlargement which would have resulted in a bulky volume.

And yet with all this the structure of the book and the viewpoint remain the same. Chapter I in the first edition has been divided into two chapters, and sub-sections in the last two chapters have been altered. The "Suggestions for Further Study" have been altered considerably. A number of the older books have been dropped and new ones added, and in almost every case the number of books listed has been increased. Here the temptation had to be resisted to add many volumes of value which advanced students should know. These lists are still very limited, but it is hoped they will be of value to the reader and student.

It is with a profound sense of gratitude that this new edition is sent out. To a surprising degree the demand for the book has continued almost unabated since the day it was first pub-

lished. With the hope that in these stirring days, when men's hearts and minds are torn and confused and at the same time filled with a new expectancy, this volume may continue to make even a slight contribution to the thought of its readers the author sends it out again on its journey "overhauled and newly equipped."

E. D. S.

Delaware, Ohio,
April, 1938.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

A SMALL book was published in 1918 entitled *The Faiths of Mankind*. It belonged to a series of College Voluntary Study Courses, and was prepared with that end in view. Since that time the desire has been repeatedly expressed that the writer prepare a volume with a wider public in view. The needs of the general reader and ministers were to be kept in mind as well as students in their college and seminary courses. Coming directly out of contact with students in the classroom, it is inevitable that the form of the present book and the selection and arrangement of material should be determined by that experience.

The guiding principle has been not to overload the text with a multiplicity of facts, but to select and make use of such facts as are relevant to the main lines of development, and to make clear their meaning and relationships. To interpret facts has been looked upon as important as to present them. One of the main problems with students is to prevent the confusion which results from presenting great quantities of material which they are not prepared to assimilate and make use of intelligently.

. . . The historical method is adhered to throughout. The underlying purpose has been to show how religion has developed in the history of the world rather than to trace the development of any single religion. Of course the latter has been done in each case, but with the desire of showing how it has fitted into the growth of religion as a phase of human life. This has made necessary the inclusion of chapters on ancient religions which have passed away but which made their contribution to the progress of religion in the world. The attempt has not been made to deal with all the religions of the past or present. The ends sought could be reached by a presentation of the great typical systems, and that has been done.

The writer has laid a heavy obligation on himself to be fair

to each religion he has treated. He cannot hope to have been completely successful, despite his endeavor to present each faith in the light of all the available facts. Yet this has been his purpose, a purpose none the less strong because Jesus Christ is to him the light of all his seeing and the only hope he is able to discover for the peoples of the world in this day of change and reconstruction.

The thanks of the author are due the publishers of volumes from which quotations have been used in this work. Credit is given in each case in a footnote where the volume is quoted.

E. D. S.

Evanston, Illinois.

March, 1921.

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF RELIGION

THE APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF RELIGION

As far back as history and archaeology are able to penetrate into the dim beginnings of human life man had a religion. From these primitive times down to the present religion has been playing its part at every stage in the course of human development. To understand any people or any man, to trace the history of civilization or the growth of a custom, religion must be called in to give its testimony, or we fail to probe the deepest springs of conduct and the controlling forces of human endeavor. The issues of life are determined far down among the impulses and motives with which religion deals most powerfully and directly.

The significance of this cannot easily be overestimated. The man on the street does not ordinarily give the impression of being very religious, that is, in our Western civilization. As he mingles in the crowd and goes about his daily tasks he may seem to be a stranger to anything distinctively religious, but that is not the whole story. In fact, it is not the thing about him which most deeply matters. Follow him through the years; see him in financial difficulty; go with the physician to his home when his little daughter lies stricken with a dangerous illness; catch him at the moment when he has a crucial decision to make; talk with him as he faces suffering, disappointment, and loss; in other words, become acquainted with him intimately, and what do you discover? It is the rare man who does not disclose a sense of being related to the unseen world, a desire to come into helpful relations with the God who controls the destinies of men and in whom he may place his confidence. We do not know men nor can we deal with them understandingly without an insight into the depths of their being. When we are able to do that, we discover that he is religious, some-

times almost in spite of himself. He seems to be made that way, and no attempt to reveal what he really is will be successful unless this be taken into consideration.

The same is true of nations. Why do they act as they do, particularly when they find themselves in a crisis? What is the reason, for example, why Japanese patriotism is different from that of other peoples? How do they look upon their Emperor? What is the explanation of their peculiar and often irritating national pride? These are questions at once arresting and vital today, not only to the student of human affairs but to the statesman who is intent on understanding the nation with which he is conducting diplomatic negotiations. He may know many things about the Japanese, but he has not laid his finger on the nerve center of Japanese life and character until he has uncovered the basic religious ideas which are responsible for the overwhelming emotional drive which makes that people what they always have been and what they are today.

What is true of Japan also obtains in other lands. India is a case in point. Since 1907 that country has been seething with unrest. Sir Valentine Chirol, the correspondent of the *London Times*, published a volume of letters he had written describing the earlier phases of the unrest. His interpretation gives evidence of a discernment not possessed by all those who were sent to study what was taking place. He was one of the few who saw that, while he was dealing with a political and social revolution, it could not be explained without showing that it had a religious source deeply embedded in the very texture of the people's life. This is true of everything Indian. It would be possible to give further examples from China, the Islamic world, and the pagan tribes of Africa, not to speak of the religious movements which have been determinative of so much in the life of Western nations and peoples, but it is not necessary at this point. What every student of the religions of the world should realize is that the study upon which he has started is of the greatest importance. It is the key which will unlock doors, both into the human heart and into the life of nations, which otherwise would remain closed.

The contribution religion has made to human progress makes it imperative that it should be studied with great care. The pitfalls are many and misconceptions are difficult to avoid. A little knowledge of religion is a dangerous thing, especially if it is made to support theories which might topple if brought into contact with all the facts in the case. The very seriousness of the issues involved calls for thoroughness and application, even in the understanding of what may at first sight seem to be unimportant details. Only by such devotion can the student hope to learn from an investigation of religion the lessons most surely awaiting appropriation and use.

The study of religion may be approached from a number of angles. It makes considerable difference from which angle the first approach is made, and also what order of studies follows. Of course in one sense everyone already knows something about religion and so has made an approach to the subject. But this is quite different from the deliberate purpose to learn by careful application what religion is in men's lives and in the world today. Then, the first step must be to learn the facts about religion. Whatever else we do, or however far we may go, the primary need is to know what religion is as it is believed in and practiced in the world. The purpose of this volume is to meet that need. And, further, it is not possible to understand the meaning of the facts of any religion unless we study it in its historical development. A religion cannot be fully explained by what lies just at hand. Every belief and practice has its history and cannot be seen in its true light without a knowledge of the stages through which it has passed. What could we know of Christianity without the gospel story, or of Islam without the story of its founder? What could we know of present-day Protestantism without the Reformation? Or of Buddhism in Japan without following the long journey of the faith from India through China and Korea to the Island Empire?

While, then, the history of religion is the primary need, it must be followed or accompanied by study from at least two other angles. Here are the facts of religion seen in their long

development, but what is religion in the life of the individual man and in society? How does religion function as a process in the human mind and heart? Is man naturally religious? What is the relation of religion to the other phases of man's mental life? How does religion arise and develop in life, both in the individual and the group? Psychology must be called in to answer these questions, if they are to be answered at all. And closely allied with psychology and working with it to help us in understanding religion are the investigations being made into the origins of human culture and institutions and their development by anthropology and sociology. These different methods of study are so closely related that they cannot be pursued independently. They are not mutually exclusive, as we shall see. Religion is so fundamental and pervasive that every study which involves the life of man must make it a subject of investigation.

There is still another approach to the understanding of religion. After we have a working acquaintance with religion as a phenomenon in human life and have studied its function, both in the individual and in society, there arise other questions which demand an answer. What about it, after all? Is it true? Does religion do what it claims to do, that is, bring the human soul into effective relation with the higher powers—with God, as we would put it in the Christian religion? In fact, are there any higher powers? Is there a God, and if so, what is his attitude toward men? Here we touch on what is ultimate, the final questions which fill the human heart as it looks out into the beyond. Do we possess any genuine word from God, any authentic revelation which can calm our fears and give us peace in the midst of the trials which await every one of us? We long for assurance, we want something certain amid the uncertainties of life. Can we be calm and serene in this troubled world? We pass into a different realm when these questions are asked. The approach is through the philosophy of religion, whose function is to probe into these ultimate questions. But with all that the answer cannot come through philosophy alone. We must enter the sacred precincts of religion itself and

stand in reverent awe in the inner courts of the temple before we receive the answer we crave. And this cannot be done until we have opened our minds and hearts to the entrance of God as a living experience within.

THE FITTING ATTITUDE TOWARD OTHER FAITHS

This is a practical problem. As students we are bound to be fair in our study of other religions, but we are more than students. Born in a Christian land and nurtured in an atmosphere which is a part of our common heritage, it is inevitable that we should have a Christian bias. Whether the student is himself a professing Christian or not, it makes little difference; he cannot divest himself of a certain bent of mind which has come to him as naturally as washing his face and hands before breakfast. It is a real and very important question we face. There are those who make the claim that the only one who can be fair in studying the various religions is one who has no religion himself, that only by being thus objective can he weigh their strong and weak points and come to an unbiased conclusion. This sounds reasonable on the face of it, but is it really so? Is there not a weak place in the claim which vitiates it completely? How could one with no religion at all be able to come to any justifiable judgment when the very possibility of reaching a judgment depends upon a personal attitude issuing from an inner experience of religion? True, he may be able as a historian or scientist to make statements about many things connected with religion which command attention, but not be fitted to say the significant about the thing which religion is underneath everything else, namely, a relation of the human soul to God.

If to be fair-minded involves erasing from one's mind his prepossessions and convictions, then fair-mindedness is a fond dream. It is as impossible for one man as for another; we are all alike in this regard. Whatever we do and wherever we go, we carry our convictions with us, and they must be taken into account. The important question is, How shall we deal with them that we may be fair-minded and free from unreasoning

prejudice? Such a thing is not easily done, nor does it come all at once. One must set himself resolutely through a considerable period to weigh evidence with scrupulous care, and not allow his conclusions to be vitiated by personal bias. By such a course of training one may be able to formulate his personal equation, like the astronomical observer. In other words, he may come to understand what his prejudices are and how far they tend to warp his judgment. He will come to understand himself better as time passes and be able more readily to know when he is approaching his danger line. He will thus be able so to keep a check on himself, that he may see things as they are, and give each fact and, in a larger way, each religion its correct valuation, not distorted by unscientific dogmatism and prejudice.

This is not a natural gift; it is an achievement, but the achievement becomes a sacred duty when one gives himself to the delicate balancing of men's religious beliefs and practices. Instead of being a liability, the possession of a Christian experience will prove to be an indispensable asset. One's ability to enter sympathetically into the religious life of men of other faiths depends largely on the possession of a religious experience. The fierceness of the conflict with evil and the consciousness of victory in the moral battle fit him the better to enter into the lives of others. The sense of God's presence in his heart and the belief in his goodness enable him the more completely to understand what is going on in the minds of other men, though the content of their belief may differ widely from his own.

The Christian student may join heartily with any student of religion, whatever his personal belief, in insisting that in the interpretation of the facts of religion the natural explanation must always be sought. Without this principle vigorously applied no science of religion can be built up. To reach the point of willingness to allow everything in religion, including all we hold most sacred in our own faith, to be exposed to the searchlight of historical and scientific investigation is a real achievement of faith. It is only a want of faith that would hedge in

certain sacred spots with a high barrier and forbid scientific investigation within the proscribed inclosure. It is an admission of fear that science might dissolve what is held sacred and that religion might disappear in the brightness of the illumination. If anything in the Christian religion is so flimsy and evanescent, it is certainly made of poor stuff and cannot long claim the allegiance of candid men and women.

And why should anyone be afraid? Every intelligent Christian believes that all truth is of God, and that all honest investigation can only arrive at further truth. And when natural explanation is pushed back as far as science is able to penetrate, a limit is reached beyond which no progress can be made, and yet with certain things remaining unexplained. But these are the very things concerning which men and women are most anxious for light and direction. Religion, which up to this point has shared the field with history and science and other phases of human culture, now steps out alone and finds itself in its own unique habitat. It is the only voice which gives satisfaction to the human heart in the presence of the major crises of life, and especially when man looks out into the great unknown and wants guidance and comfort. At such times he listens with eagerness for some word from the eternal world, from God himself. In other words, religion always implies a divine revelation, an authentic voice from the Creator and Father of men from whom come life and every other good thing. So long as human nature remains what it is, so long will religion find a responsive echo in the distraught lives of men and women seeking peace and failing to find it elsewhere.

A Christian who is alert to the thought-life of the world cannot be indifferent to the religion of other peoples. In his consideration of the relation of his own faith to theirs he must be able to combine two convictions which are frequently strangers to each other. The first is the fundamental Christian conviction that Christianity is unique, that it is the only faith adequate to meet the needs of all men. This sounds exclusive, and so it is. Christianity as a propagating, conquer-

ing faith would have ceased to exist long ago had it not been for this conviction. A religion lives by the intensity of its belief in its own peculiar worth and power. "There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved" (Acts 4. 12). This is a truly Christian statement; it is the food on which our faith lives and grows.

But with this conviction another must be held to save the strong, exclusive belief just expressed from intolerance. The logic of intolerance is well known. Since there is only one true faith all others are false and should be treated as such. This may mean scornful repudiation, punishment, even to the point of cruelty, and the infliction of all kinds of legal disabilities. It was thought by such a reformer as Martin Bucer that it was the duty of a magistrate to use force in dealing with the Jews. The same attitude was felt toward those of other religions. Why not? they were false and had no right to exist.¹

The logic of the Christian attitude is quite different. It starts with the same high declaration of the unique place of Christianity among the religions, but from that point the difference is radical. The word "false" is not to be used with reference to other faiths. That word is reserved for the sordid and insincere, for the unworthy and base among the adherents of any religion, Christianity included. The Christian cannot but look on all other religions as the expression of man's unsatisfied longing after God and his attempt to reach the blessedness God alone can impart. Seen in this light, the Christian cannot be intolerant. He must sympathize with the religious spirit in every place, even when it is openly antagonistic to him and his message. He will appreciate all the good to be found in every faith at the same time that he sees the inadequacy of the remedies that are applied. And in the end it will be impossible to refrain from giving to those who do not know Jesus Christ the message of moral victory and spiritual assurance which can only be achieved through him.

¹ See art. entitled "Bucer's Plan for the Jews," by Hastings Eells, in *Church History*, Vol. VI, p. 127.

THE NATURE OF RELIGION

Only after religion had passed through many stages of development did anyone attempt to define it. Cicero was one of the first, and his statement was the simple one that religion was the worship of the gods. He is also responsible for connecting the word "religion" with the Latin *relegere*, which means "to read over again," a derivation not accepted by later writers, who favor *religare*, "to bind." While the latter etymology is generally accepted today, it is still doubtful, and, even if it were made certain by further investigation, it would not be of much practical assistance in reaching a satisfactory definition. The late Dr. W. Warde Fowler, of Oxford, shows at length² that the Latin word *religio* had a growth during the long period from the days of early Rome to the time when it was introduced into the vocabulary of the Christian Church and was made to carry the full treasure of meaning which the new religion had brought into it. The particular connotation at any time of such a word as "religion" is more important than its etymological derivation.

Is a definition of religion possible? Mr. John Morley has a caustic statement in his article on "Democracy and Reaction" (*Nineteenth Century*, April, 1905): "If we want a platitude, there is nothing like a definition. Perhaps most definitions hang between platitude and paradox. There are said to be ten thousand definitions of religion."³ An extreme view is taken by Professor C. C. J. Webb, who declares that "a definition of religion is needless and impossible."⁴ Without doubt this is true if we are looking for a definition which shall be complete and comprehensive. There is that in religion which baffles us and which always must elude a definition. The best we may do is to be always approximating a definition, but never reaching it. The great realities of life are always bigger and deeper than we can comprehend. A developing thing can never be caged into a form of words which attempts once and

² *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 459-62.

³ Quoted by Edward Clodd in his *Animism*, p. 9.

⁴ *Group Theories of Religion and the Individual*, p. 37.

for all to tell us what it is. If then we are looking for this kind of definition, perfect and complete, we shall of necessity be disappointed. So far we may go with Professor Webb.

But what we need is something different. Our aim is more immediate and more modest. We stand in need of a guide, a basis of identification. How is the student to know in the welter of impressions which comes in upon him what is religious and what is not? A definition should enable him to detect religion and disentangle it from what is not religion though very similar and closely connected with it. Such a definition will not be complete, but it may be true; it will be tentative, like a scientific hypothesis, but it may prove extremely useful. And what is meant by being true is that it shall point reliably in the right direction toward the final goal. Religion doubtless is much more than is embodied in a definition, but it is at least that. We may be treading on safe ground and feel sure we have a dependable clue. This is about as much as a definition of religion may be expected to provide, but it is highly significant for the practical purpose we have in view.

The assumption in the mind of everyone is that he knows what religion is—that is, until he makes the attempt to put down exactly what is in his mind. Then it becomes apparent that his ideas are hazy and ill-defined, and that too much had been taken for granted in his assumption of knowledge. One's own viewpoint so affects his outlook that the danger always is that he shall take what religion means to him, put it into a statement, and call that religion. Like Parson Thwackum in *Tom Jones*, he may be tempted to say, "When I mention religion, I mean the Christian religion, and not only the Christian religion, but the Protestant religion, and not only the Protestant religion, but the Church of England."⁵ We have a religion, but so has the Zulu, and any definition worthy the name must be sufficiently inclusive to serve in any land and among any people. Religions differ greatly, as we shall see, but there must be some element or elements which all the

⁵ Quoted by Edward Clodd, *Animism*, p. 9.

religions have in common, or no definition is possible. The common element or elements must be distinctive of religion, so that we may be able to trace the development of this one thing through the maze of the forms it has assumed. We must have in our definition a statement which will embrace every manifestation which can be called religious.

Numerous attempts have been made to define religion. John Morley's "ten thousand definitions of religion" sounds a bit rhetorical, but certainly points vividly to the fact that about every writer who essays to write on religion at all makes a trial at definition. Some of these definitions have proved so significant and so determinative of later attempts that a brief survey would seem to be imperative. Only through many years of patient investigation have students been able to disengage religion from other elements of culture and determine more exactly its distinctive nature. Even now theories are arrayed against each other which are so wide apart that it becomes all the more important that some position should be taken to save oneself from helpless confusion in the study of the religious life of the various peoples.

A few definitions there have been which disparage religion. Salomon Reinach writes thus: "I propose to define religion as: A sum of scruples which impede the free exercise of our faculties."⁶ One more may be given, that of Giuseppe Sergi: "Religion is a pathological manifestation of the protective function, a sort of deviation of the normal function, a deviation caused by ignorance of natural causes and their effects."⁷ These definitions lack the fundamental requirement of a definition. They are out of sympathy with religion, however it may be defined. They do not spring from any real insight into the meaning of what they are attempting to define. Such insight can come only as a result of sympathetic investigation of religious beliefs and practices, and this is sadly lacking in the case of these scholars. A student must understand before he defines, and to understand religion he must view it from within, feeling at

⁶ Orpheus: *A General History of Religions*, English trans., p. 3.

⁷ *Les Emotions*, p. 404.

home amid the factors which make up the complex thing we know by that name.

Not far removed from this completely negative attitude is that which was held by the English deists of the eighteenth century. To these skeptical writers the value of religion was merely as a practical discipline, an arrangement for keeping people decent and respectable. By some it was given a higher place than by others, by Herbert of Cherbury, for example, in contrast with Thomas Hobbes, but in the estimation of all, religion was not of great importance in itself, but only as a handmaid of morality. Hobbes goes so far as to make religion only a means of promoting the safety of individuals. Society is looked upon as a great police organization. All religious and civil authority springs from fear and is necessary in order to keep men subservient and within bounds.

It is quite evident that these men had no adequate appreciation of religion, that they had never experienced the presence of God in their own hearts. While they had high regard for decent living, they had never heard the thunders of Sinai. Had they done so, they might have had a more profound conception of the very morality which they professed to admire so highly. They never realized that righteousness had its source in the inmost nature of God himself. Such a view would have saved them from their superficiality, and would have raised religion to its rightful place of primacy. They did well to set morality and religion in the closest relationship, but by failing to appreciate the nature of the bond they placed religion where its chief work could not be accomplished and did violence to the morality which they were so concerned to maintain.

Turning now to definitions of men who have shown high regard for religion, we may expect a very different type of definition. But even here restricted and one-sided views are to be found, views which have had their day, but which in a number of cases have been most influential in all later attempts at definition. There are those definitions which restrict religion to one function of the human mind. Such is

that of Hegel, who makes religion a matter of the intellect. One of his statements is this: "Thus religion is the Divine Spirit's knowledge of itself through the mediation of finite spirit." Leaving aside the monistic implication in this definition as irrelevant to our immediate interest, it is clear that religion was to Hegel purely a matter of thought. Others in a later day have to a greater or less degree followed in the same direction. Professor E. B. Tylor has a very simple statement: "The minimum definition of religion is the belief in spiritual beings."⁸ This famous definition reduces religion in its final analysis to a belief, an intellectual attitude. Max Müller makes religion "a mental faculty or disposition, which, independent of—nay, in spite of—sense and reason, enables man to apprehend the infinite under different names and under varying guises."⁹ This was later modified. "Religion consists in the perception of the Infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of man."¹⁰ But in both cases the emphasis is intellectual, in spite of the necessity which caused Professor Müller in the second to incorporate the moral implication of religion as a part of his definition.

Religion has been defined in terms of the emotions as well as of the intellect. One of the most famous of all definitions is that of Schleiermacher: "The essence of the religious emotions consists in the feeling of an absolute dependence."¹¹ While this may be one-sided, the emphasis placed upon the emotional element in religion by Schleiermacher has deeply influenced subsequent attempts. In the present day Professor John McTaggart has a definition with a similar emphasis: "It seems to me that religion may best be described as an emotion, resting on a conviction of a harmony between ourselves and the universe at large."¹² While it rests on a conviction, religion is "described as an emotion." The emphasis is the same as that of Schleiermacher. And finally, religion has been defined as will, or the

⁸ *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, p. 383.

⁹ *Introduction to Science of Religion*, p. 17.

¹⁰ *The Origin of Religion*, p. 21.

¹¹ *On Religion*, p. 106.

¹² *Some Dogmas of Religion*, p. 3.

fulfillment of moral obligation. Kant stands first here with his declaration that "religion is the recognition of all duties as divine commands," and Matthew Arnold may be said to emphasize the same side of religion in his well-known word, "Religion is morality touched by emotion."¹³

In all of these cases we would be doing an injustice to insist that no place was given in religion to the other functions of the human mind, but the emphasis clearly has been as indicated in the quotations. The difficulty is that the emphasis is placed so strongly on one or another of the factors that religion becomes less comprehensive than it actually is. Religion is coming more and more to be recognized as all-embracing, as functioning in every department of human life, as involving the intellect, the emotions, and the will, if it is normal and true of type. So while all these definitions are true as far as they go, and have been widely influential in subsequent investigations, they are partial and incomplete nevertheless.

Another set of definitions—and these are all the product of recent years—divide on the question of the individual as contrasted with the social emphasis in religion. We choose but two of these statements, both from psychologists. The first is from William James: "Religion, therefore, as I now ask you arbitrarily to take it, shall mean for us the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, as far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine."¹⁴ A more recent definition, coming from Professor A. N. Whitehead, is even more sharply individualistic: "Religion is the art and the theory of the internal life of man, so far as it depends on the man himself and on what is permanent in the nature of things. This doctrine is the direct negation of the theory that religion is primarily a social fact. . . . But all collective emotions leave untouched the awful ultimate fact, which is the human being, consciously alone with itself, for its own sake. Religion is what the individual does

¹³ *Literature and Dogma*, p. 46.

¹⁴ *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 31.

with his own solitariness. . . . Thus religion is solitariness; and if you are never solitary, you are never religious."¹⁵

The other side is presented by Professor A. C. Watson, who defines religion as "a social attitude toward the nonhuman environment."¹⁶ Each of these definitions emphasizes an important truth of religion. Religion is both individual and social. The danger lies in laying such exclusive emphasis on one or the other of these factors that no standing room seems left for the other. Religion is individual in that for each man his religious experience is his own. He has a vertical relationship which is between himself and the higher powers on whom he believes, but James goes too far when he speaks of the religion of "individual men in their solitude," for a man's religion is so far determined by his lateral relationships in society that what he has is not his alone, nor did it come to him in solitude. Religion does undoubtedly conserve social values, and it is most fortunate that this feature of religious life has been emphasized. But to the individual religion is social and then something more. Professor J. B. Pratt suggests very happily that "the inborn nature of the individual determines what might be called the *form* of his religious life. The *matter* is chiefly the contribution of society."¹⁷ The social aspects fill the horizon in the earlier stages of development, when man as an individual can scarcely be said to exist, but gradually, as personality develops and each man begins to stand out in his separate individuality, a consciousness of a certain uniqueness comes over him and he realizes that while he belongs to society he is separate and detached from others in his own individuality and in his relation to the powers on whom he is dependent.

There are those who define religion in terms of worship. Professor Allan Menzies states it thus: "Religion is the worship of higher powers from a sense of need."¹⁸ Professor A. S. Geden comes to this conclusion: "On the whole, then, it would

¹⁵ *Religion in the Making*, pp. 16f.

¹⁶ Quoted by Professor W. K. Wright, *A Student's Philosophy of Religion*. Revised edit., p. 528.

¹⁷ *The Religious Consciousness*, p. 74.

¹⁸ *History of Religion*, p. 13.

seem that the essential quality or nature of religion is best described as consisting in worship."¹⁹ One other, the striking statement of Professor Auguste Sabatier, may be given: "Prayer is religion in act—that is to say, real religion."²⁰ In these cases, as the context shows, worship is broadened out to become the expression of the total attitude of man, in the fullness of his life, toward his God. Yet, ordinarily speaking, religion is more than worship. The attitude of the worshiper must include more than the worship itself, or else his religion is restricted and incomplete. Yet the central act of religion is worship, and religion would die without it, so an adequate definition must provide for this relation of the mind toward the higher powers or be found wanting.

In our own day a class of definitions is being presented with no necessary reference to higher powers or to God. The classic statement, and that which has largely influenced others of the class, is that of Professor Harald Höffding: "The conservation of value is the characteristic axiom of religion."²¹ Professor E. S. Ames has a definition very similar: "Religion is the consciousness of the highest social values."²² Professor G. A. Coe speaks of "religion as an immanent movement within our valuations, a movement that does not terminate in any single set of thought contents, or in any set of particular values."²³ It is difficult to do justice to these writers without quoting much more fully than this survey will permit, but we may at least say that these definitions run counter to those we have been considering in that religion is defined with no reference to any higher power. The question which is raised is this: Is the distinguishing thing in religion something subjective or is it objective? Is the difference between religions one growing out of differences in values or of differences in the religious object? To put it in other words: Must a man believe in God or some

¹⁹ *Studies in the Religions of the East*, p. 53.

²⁰ *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 27.

²¹ *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 10.

²² *Psychology of Religious Experience*, p. vii.

²³ *Psychology of Religion*, p. 72.

higher power to be religious or can he be religious with no reference to divine powers of any kind?

A definition has been offered by Professor W. K. Wright which attempts to meet the difficulty of such a definition as that of Professor Coe. "Religion is the endeavor to secure the conservation of socially recognized values through specific actions that are believed to evoke some agency different from the ordinary ego of the individual, or from other merely human beings, and that imply a feeling of dependence upon that agency."²⁴ Here Professor Wright asserts that the conservation of values is essential to religion, but also just as clearly that there must also be "some agency" other than human on which man must feel his dependence.

Let us say at once that values always form a most important element in religion. Men want something which has value for them. If it did not have value, they would not pursue nor desire it. There are satisfactions of various kinds which are craved, and these desires form the dynamic of religion as of other human activities. But the question which arises is this: Is the conservation of these values the inner core of religion? True, it is the inevitable accompaniment of religion, but is it the differentia of religion? The question resolves itself into this pertinent problem: Shall we define religion by the ends which are desired or by the means used to secure them? There are certain desires which men have, desires emotional and intellectual, individual and social. Now, if religion is the conservation of values with no necessary reference to man's attempt to secure this conservation through his relationship to higher powers, then religion may be defined without any reference to anything supernatural. That is incidental, even though it may be frequent and even almost inevitable. It remains only a means to an end, and the end which is sought is the reality in religion.

But it is possible to go farther as one studies man's experience in rising from lower levels and reaching those which are higher in his religious life. Man is after all sorts of things—material,

²⁴ *A Student's Philosophy of Religion*, revised edit., p. 47.

physical, social, moral, and spiritual. He tries every means at his disposal, and among them is a certain conscious relation he holds with unseen higher powers. This relationship, purified and developed, becomes the chief glory of his life, raising him to a new dignity, bringing peace and unity to his troubled mind, and taking its place as the inspiring center of his whole life. And the remarkable thing is that what to him at the beginning was a means to an end becomes an end in itself. He is suffused with a glory unknown to him before, and to know God is the supreme desire and chief end of his existence. At all stages it does conserve values, but so do many other things which could never be called religion. This one relationship is unique; it makes its contribution to life as do the other factors, but is to be distinguished by a content which places it in a class by itself. The desire to conserve values is the soil out of which religion springs, and the conservation itself the end which religion seeks, but neither is to be confused with the thing itself, which is a relation of men to powers higher than themselves.

At the present time we are told almost on every hand that certain movements in human society like Nationalism and Communism are religions. Professor H. G. Wood discusses "Communism as a Religion."²⁵ He quotes from Mr. Middleton Murray to the effect that "Communism is the one living religion in the Western world today," and Professor Wood is in agreement with him in calling Communism a religion. On what grounds? There is what he speaks of as "religious enthusiasm" in this attitude; it puts a new hope in their breasts, a hope which embraces all mankind; it provides a cause which demands and secures their complete loyalty. More than that, Communism has in it a mystical quality somewhat akin to the mystical rapture in religion. It is at its best an attitude of hushed reverence in the presence of something ineffable and intangible and yet something which is not recognized as divine or supernatural. Such is also the view of Professor Nicholas Berdyaev in his discussion of "The Religion of Communism."²⁶

²⁵ *The Truth and Error of Communism.* Chap. I.

²⁶ *The Russian Revolution*, Chap. II.

He is convinced that Communism "is formidable precisely as a religion" (p. 60). He proceeds: "It takes possession of the whole soul and calls forth enthusiasm and self-sacrifice" (p. 60). There is also the messianic note—there is a better day coming for the common man, the proletariat, which is to be ushered in by Communism.

The question now is not whether Communism is true or false, whether it holds out a way of salvation which will lead to a Utopia or into chaos. We are likely to have very strong convictions about it. For a Christian with his belief in God, a God who has revealed himself in Jesus Christ, Communism can only appear as the repudiation of his most cherished beliefs and his most inalienable possessions. But, is Communism a religion? Should we include a chapter in this book on the "Religion of Communism" just as we have a chapter on "Buddhism"? I am inclined to think not. Is it not true that a number of things in human life may so completely take our attention and so command our loyalty and devotion that the attitude which they call out is closely akin to religion? This is true of Nationalism, with its characteristic attitude of patriotism, as it is of Communism. It may be an exaggerated devotion, but it is real and genuine. But cannot the same be said of a musician's surrender to his art and of a physician's devotion to his profession? This devotion may not be complete, but frequently it is nearly so and so exclusive that no other devotion can compare with it. It absorbs him as completely as the rapture of a religious devotee. We are asked to call this his religion, but would it not be better to speak of his attitude as religious, using the adjective, rather than a religion, the substantive? It is conceivable that Communism might develop into a religion in the full sense, but it is very doubtful. Can man long remain satisfied with any philosophy of life which does not answer to that almost instinctive desire to be in touch with what is beyond and higher than anything man himself can provide and which does more ample justice to the spiritual longing which Communism repudiates with its materialism and hard determinism? The history of religion would indicate that such a theory of the

universe has not satisfied him, and the inference is that it is no more likely now than in the past. We must keep an open mind and watch the development with care. It might turn out to be a new religion which is making its way into human life. In the meantime it is an accommodated or borrowed use of the term to call it a religion now. It surely has religious features; it is hardly a religion in the strict sense of the word.

What, then, is religion? To sum up: It seems clear that religion consists of a number of elements. It is a relationship of conscious dependence on higher powers; it makes a demand on the whole of man's life, intellect, emotion, and will; it is both individual and social; it is worship, yet it is more than worship; and it conserves all the values which give worth and meaning to human life. The definition which includes all these features as successfully as any is that of L. de Grandmaison: "Religion is the sum total of beliefs, sentiments, and practices, individual and social, which have for their object a power which man recognizes as supreme, on which he depends and with which he can enter (or has entered) into relation."²⁷ A very convenient form of statement is that given by Professor William Newton Clarke, "Religion is the life of man in his superhuman relations."²⁸ With these in mind we may venture on our study of the religions of the world, with a clue sufficiently clear to guide our steps in and out among the multitude of facts and fancies which await classification and interpretation.²⁹

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

See "Suggestions" at end of Chapter II.

²⁷ *The History of Religion*, Vol. I, p. 3.

²⁸ *An Outline of Christian Theology*, p. 1.

²⁹ I have been indebted for a number of these definitions to a list of definitions of religion compiled by Professor Robert E. Hume, of Union Theological Seminary.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF RELIGION

THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION

ABOUT a half century ago Sir John Lubbock, in his volume *Prehistoric Times*, attempted to show that religion was not universal, that there were tribes of men scattered fairly widely over the earth which had no religion, no worship, no belief in higher powers with whom they were related. Professor Robert Flint felt it necessary in his Baird Lecture for 1877, *Anti-Theistic Theories*, to answer Sir John Lubbock at length. The interesting thing is that the answer followed the same method as the argument it was answering. In each case reports from travelers and others were studied and criticized to determine as nearly as possible what the actual condition of the tribes under scrutiny indicated. The conclusion reached by Professor Flint was this: "An impartial examination of the relevant facts, it appears to me, shows that religion is virtually universal."¹

Such a claim as that of Sir John Lubbock is no longer made. Not only has the more careful study of savages led to a deeper understanding of their life, but psychology has been developing as a science by leaps and bounds, and has made almost unnecessary any further investigation among savages themselves to determine the fundamental question of the essential religious nature of man. But even before this development had not more than begun, Professor Flint had sensed the conclusions reached by psychology in a more recent time and declared that "the world has been so framed, and the mind so constituted, that man, even in his lowest estate, and all over the world, gives evidence of possessing religious perceptions and emotions."² This could scarcely be better expressed by the most modern of our psychologists, even though the technical terms might be a little

¹ Page 288.

² *Anti-Theistic Theories*, p. 288.

different. The study of human nature gives abundant proof that man is normally religious, that religion is an experience which man inevitably possesses as soon as his life begins to be organized and enters into relationship with his fellows and the nature which surrounds him on all sides. We are dealing, then, with what is universal.

It is the origin of religion that we are now to investigate. The immediate impulse is to go back in history to the beginnings and there make a study of man in the process of becoming religious. There must have been a time when man had no religion, but was developing into a religious being. When that was, we have no way of knowing. With all that is being done to unfold the origins of human culture no light is shed on a number of the most important phases of his development. Go back as far as history extends and man is religious. The same evidence is forthcoming when archaeology is called upon for its testimony. The prehistoric remains in Europe and elsewhere, as far as they prove anything, show man possessed of certain ideas and performing certain acts which give strong evidence of being religious. If, then, we are to know anything about the origin of religion—for it surely must have had an origin—we are compelled to go elsewhere for the help we need.

The only other course open is the appeal to psychology, both individual and social. This means that we must seek to find what in man this thing called religion is genetically, what it is which always develops in this way no matter where man is found, and what relation it has to the social organization of the group to which he belongs. It is hard to know what to call it. Not an instinct surely, when one realizes the meaning of the instinctive life as now given by psychological analysis and experiment. An instinct is called by Alexander Bain, "that untaught ability to perform actions."³ Religion is not as simple a reaction as that, but is more complex, the reaction resulting from the combined action of the more fundamental features of the mental life. But this is not to say that religion is not deeply

³ Quoted by James Ward, *Psychological Principles*, p. 53.

rooted in human nature. As Professor Coe puts it, "This way of organizing experience in terms of ideal values is a first item in the religious nature of man. It is present in all normal individuals, and is a type toward which freedom, popular education, and democracy tend."⁴ We may not be able to arrive at a term more definite than that just used—"the religious nature of man"—but the fact to be emphasized is that the organizing of experience into what we call religion is the normal thing, so much so that, to quote again, "Any individual who fails to meet the conditions of life in this way we classify as imbecile."⁵

The material for such an investigation is quite accessible. Child study has been carried to such a point that certain conclusions may well be accepted as certain, though the conflict of opinions at other points is proof that much remains unsettled. The theory of recapitulation, which asserts that the developing child traverses (recapitulates) the stages which the race has traveled from its childhood to its present maturity, cannot be relied on with any assurance even when it is accepted as more or less true. The same may be said of the psychology of the backward peoples which has been pursued so earnestly by a small band of competent scholars. In each case the evidence can only be used with caution. Neither the child nor the present-day savage is just like primitive man. The determining factor is undoubtedly normal psychology, our own development as we look back at it, and what seems to us reasonably sure. What can be expected as a result of this method of procedure? The best that can be said is that it is a more or less plausible conjecture. But with all that there is value in the investigation, as it compels us to think through certain aspects of the religious life more thoroughly and in a manner which might otherwise be missed.

We first consider a very old theory of the origin of religion, that of Lucretius, who in a famous statement ascribed the origin of religion to a sense of fear. But it is not only in ancient times that fear has been made responsible for the

⁴ *Psychology of Religion*, p. 324.

⁵ Coe, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

origin of religion. In very recent years it has received a new emphasis. In a popular volume, *This Believing World*, Lewis Brown, a Jewish rabbi, begins his first chapter thus: "In the beginning there was fear; and fear was in the heart of man; and fear controlled man" (p. 27). He has been rightly charged with the error of oversimplification, but that should not blind us to the full recognition of the influence of fear in religion. It has been tremendous. Not only in times past but even today and in the most advanced religions it wields its sway and destroys the peace and distorts the vision of men and women who should have the experience which casts out fear. A far more scholarly and profound discussion is to be found in Paul Radin's recent volume, *Primitive Religion: Its Nature and Origin*. He makes the strong statement, "With fear man was born" (p. 7). This fear, however, was not just a vague "being afraid in the dark"; "rather it was the fear inspired by a specific economic situation." Much emphasis is laid by this writer on the economic insecurity of primitive man, and for this needed emphasis we must be grateful. It has come all too late into the discussion of the life of primitives. We cannot account for the rise and early development of religion without making fear a significant ingredient in the complex process. But to make fear and fear alone responsible for religion is to exclude other factors which must not be left out. No single cause can be assigned as the originating principle of so all-embracing an experience as religion. Even the use of the concept of fear needs analysis; it is given in almost classic brevity and cogency by the late Professor George Foot Moore: "If we seek a motive, universal, supreme, perpetual, it will be found in the impulse to self-preservation."⁶ This helps to answer the question, Why do men fear? They are afraid of being harmed or destroyed, and they desire self-preservation more than anything else.

Aside from this early theory on the subject little was attempted until the time of the English deists in the eighteenth

⁶ *The Birth and Growth of Religion*, pp. 3f.

century. Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans alike assumed a primitive divine revelation, and that settled the whole question. They conceived that in the beginning—that means when the first man was created and placed in the Garden of Eden—God revealed to him in some manner the essential truths of religion, such as the existence of one God, the obligation to obey him, and the hope of immortality. Thus furnished, he began his career; but when sin emerged, the revelation became hazy and indistinct and finally was well-nigh if not completely lost. The difficulty with this exceedingly fascinating picture is that it rests on no solid foundation of fact. The Bible makes no clear statement which would lead to this conclusion. When man began to play his part in the Biblical narrative he performed religious acts and engaged at times in a religious ritual; so much is evident, but nothing is said as to origins.

That man received his religious nature from God is very plausible, even necessary for one who looks upon God as the Creator of all that is; but that differs widely from the statement that he came into life furnished with a full set of religious ideas. The theory of evolution presents us with a very different account of early man, an account which makes belief in a more or less complete revelation incongruous. Man developed or evolved into what he has become and many ages passed before he was ready to appreciate the truths which on the other theory he is said to have received as an original endowment. The easy way in which Christian thinkers accounted for the non-Christian religions was to refer them to the devil as the author. This was a simple solution of a difficult problem, and it carried the Christian Church until within the last century or two, but it is too simple to be convincing and betrays an ignorance so profound that it is hard to be patient with it today.

Toward the end of the last century Professor Andrew Lang, historian, anthropologist, student of the earlier forms of religion, wrote a volume entitled *The Making of Religion*, whose third edition was published in 1909. His purpose was to bring out into clear light the presence among primitive peoples of the belief in All-Fathers or "High Gods." These will be dis-

cussed more fully in the chapter on "Animistic Religion," but reference must be made to the subject here because of its relation to the present discussion of the origin of religion. Every volume coming from the press finds it necessary to devote attention to this theory. It has gained momentum in recent years by the elaborate researches of Father W. Schmidt, professor in the University of Vienna, together with his collaborators. A large work in five volumes, entitled *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, embodies the results of this research. We are fortunate in having a translation in English of a smaller work, *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, in which Father Schmidt presents his main conclusions.

What is his claim? Very simply it is that these All-Fathers, or "High Gods," are not only to be found very widely distributed but that they are the remnant of an original primitive revelation made by God to the progenitors of the race and handed down without break since that day. It is "the original belief of the human race as a whole." All other lesser conceptions of higher powers are evidences of degeneracy, of a fall from sublime heights to low and unworthy beliefs. It is a simple theory; can it be accepted? One of the unfortunate things in connection with the pros and cons of this discussion is that Father Schmidt gives the impression to other scholars that he is more interested in defending the dogma of his Church than in anything else, so that with all his industry and erudition his argument is discredited among scientific investigators both within and outside the Christian Church. It is not a question of the existence of these high deities in primitive religion—that is now admitted by every writer on the subject. Nor is the attempt any longer made to explain the presence of this conception in the minds of primitive peoples by missionary influence; the idea is too widespread and too deeply rooted in the thinking of these peoples to be accounted for in this way.

It is significant that scholars have not generally been carried by Father Schmidt's argument. This is not because the theory

seems to run counter to the gradual evolutionary growth of the God-idea from simple beginnings to the heights of monotheism. There are other grounds of objection. Such an anthropologist as Professor Paul Radin has no hesitation in accepting these divine beings in primitive religion. His theory is that there are to be found in primitive society exceptional men who are leaders in thought and are quite capable of conceiving the idea of great gods as well as of little, insignificant spirits. But that is very far from leaping to the conclusion that these gods were the original divine beings and that they were the result of a special divine revelation. It may seem to be an easy solution of a very difficult problem, fitting in with what many would like to think was the case. But as E. O. James says, this theory "raises more problems for the theologian than it solves, and it is certainly to go beyond the legitimate limits of anthropological evidence."⁷ We should give heed to a suggestion from Professor Eric S. Waterhouse, who says, "Instead of seeking origins, we should rather seek to reconstruct conditions of growth."⁸ So far as absolute beginnings are concerned every theist finds the first verse of the Bible deeply satisfying, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," but that does not give us just the light we desire in seeking the specific origins of religious customs and beliefs.

The deists in their day had their own notion of the rise of religion. They were not only willing to allow that man might have had an original endowment of religious ideas, but they had the matter quite thoroughly worked out. A number of conceptions which fitted in well with their idea of religion as a natural phenomenon in the life of man were made to constitute his original religious outfit. But this was not the significant part of their theory. Man would have been all right had he retained the simplicity of his original belief, but this was not to be. A class of men arose who came to be known as priests, who found they could work upon the fears and

⁷ Quoted by Oesterly and Robinson in *Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development*, 2d edit., p. 5.

⁸ *The Dawn of Religion*, p. 28.

credulity of men and by so doing gain advantage for themselves. In order to fasten their grip upon men they devised beliefs and ritual practices which worked upon their superstitious fears and gave the priesthood a hold like bands of iron. This, then, explains the origin of the religions which have grown up among men. These worldly-wise men saw their chance to keep the people in their power, and have even down to our day been devising new schemes to make their tenure enduring. No one would be foolhardy enough now to propound such a theory of the origin of religion. It is too superficial and shows ignorance of religion and its deep foundations in human life. Let us see, as Professor Morris Jastrow points out, that it is not the function of priests to originate but to conserve. The prophet and the seer are the dynamic creators in human society, and they have been free men troubling themselves little about the paraphernalia of religion, but speaking out a message full of pregnant meaning as men face a new age.⁹

We may now take up several other theories which are the result of scientific historical investigation and are an attempt to explain religion on the basis more nearly of all the facts which are available. But even here inference must play a large part in the final conclusion. A good approach is by way of the theory enunciated by Professor E. B. Tylor in his epoch-making volumes on *Primitive Culture*. It is called the animistic theory. According to Professor Tylor, early man attributed life to nature and the objects around him. He looked upon all he saw as animated, as possessing a spirit like his own. He did this by the only instrument of reason he had to explain what he saw and heard and felt. It was the principle of analogy, according to which all he saw was explained by reference to his own experience. If he saw a tree bend under the wind, he could only explain it by thinking that he could make the wind blow too, and thus in a lesser but similar fashion do what he saw happening in nature. He could blow, and so there must be

⁹ *The Study of Religion*, Chap. IV.

some invisible but very big somebody out there who was blowing very hard and causing the trees of the forest to bend and groan in the gale. To him somebody more or less like himself was accountable for everything that happened. He carried it out to such lengths that the very existence of a separate thing, even a dead thing like a stone, might be explained on the basis of an inner spirit which was its life. Thus all nature became alive, filled with innumerable spirits everywhere and in everything. There was to early man and to the savage today no such thing as inanimate nature. It was all alive and throbbing with a life like his own.

Coming to the point which concerns us immediately, Professor Tylor held that religion had its origin in the relationship which man established with certain of the spirits of his animism. This theory has been criticized by Professor R. R. Marett in his *The Threshold of Religion*. He agrees with Professor Tylor in his general conclusion that primitive man came finally to an animistic conclusion, but he feels that the finished animism of Professor Tylor gives evidence of considerable development in early man. According to that theory, man attributed a definite, distinct spirit to the objects of nature, to each tree and mountain and spring in his vicinity. But, says Professor Marett, how could man thus attribute a spirit to what he saw when his own spirit-life was so uncertain? His thinking was confused and indistinct because, in the nature of the case, he was not capable of anything more. In this condition it takes far too much for granted to believe the savage capable of distinguishing distinct spirits in the nature which surrounded him. What Professor Marett feels is that to primitive man nature was characterized by a kind of aliveness just as he was conscious of a certain aliveness in himself. Now, even in this early stage religion had its beginnings; man did not have to wait until he could attribute a separate spirit to each object of nature in order to have a religion. So we have what may be called a preanimistic religion, or "animatism," thus leaving the designation "animism" for the developed belief in spirits. So this general aliveness later developed into

the definite personification of the objects of nature, but the process was completed long since; no savages are now to be found in the preanimistic stage.

A further development of the theory just stated is that of Herbert Spencer. He accepted the animistic explanation of primitive thinking, but emphasized that aspect which deals with the spirits of the dead. As far back as we can dimly penetrate, man is seen offering sacrifices to the spirits of his departed ancestors, and this Herbert Spencer believed to have been the earliest form of religion. Ancestors, then, were the first beings worshiped. Even the more inclusive worship of the objects of nature around him came after the worship offered to those who have died and as ghosts continue their existence not very far away. The criticism to be made here is that one aspect of primitive religion can scarcely be made to account for the origin of religion any more than some other aspects which have been mentioned. Why should death any more than some of the manifestations of power and activity evident on all sides be made the sole explanation of the origin of religion?

We are still far from an answer to the primary question confronting us: What was it that caused primitive man to turn in worship to certain beings whom he considered divine? But before going farther it is necessary to take up one more recent theory which is receiving wide attention because of its uniqueness and the ability with which it is presented. I refer to the sociological theory of the origin of religion presented by Professor Emile Durkheim, the leader of the school of French sociologists, in his work entitled *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. To Professor Durkheim religion is a genuine phase of human life which will last because it corresponds to human need. But religion is not a supernatural affair, nor does it imply a belief in divine beings. It is a conscious relation to what are called "sacred things," and the totem is the type of these sacred things. We cannot at this point say more about the totem than that it is an animal with which a group

of men believe they are closely related. This theory is found among savage people in many widely separated parts of the world. The sacredness which attaches to the totem is to be explained by the presence in it of a strange, mysterious force, pervasive and impersonal, which is supposed to explain life and activity in men and things. How did the thought that such a power existed arise in the mind of primitive man? Here is the distinctive point in the theory of the French sociologist. The presence of this force was aroused in man's mind by society. What does this mean? The group consciousness is different from that of the individual, though, of course, in each case it is an experience of the individual. But he realizes that in his group, which we call society, certain things come to him which could not be his were he alone in the world. It is his sense of the power, the protection, and the common interests of the group that becomes to him the consciousness of a mysterious power in the world, and this is the power he worships. The totem is its emblem, but the power worshiped is society. So society is his god, and the only god he has is society. The god of the clan is the clan itself. Thus social relations explain everything, with no relation to anything supernatural. Undoubtedly, religion is social, but this is quite different from saying with these scholars that that is all there is to religion. Man persists in believing that he is in touch not only with his fellows but with beings who are over and above him. As the late Archbishop Nathan Söderblom pointed out in his Gifford Lectures,¹⁰ a reaction against the extreme individualistic view was inevitable, but it has been exaggerated to an even greater extent than the contrary view and at a greater loss. When we forget the individual, we have cut the ground from under our feet, for in the final analysis whatever is done or believed in society was originally conceived in the mind of an individual person. We are now coming back to a saner balance of the two features, the social and the individual, in our studies of primitive religion.

¹⁰ *The Living God*, p. 1.

From what has been said earlier in this section it will be apparent that man has a certain capacity for religion which is his normally simply because he is a man. Man has a bent in the direction of religion which only needs the proper stimulus to become religion in one of its many recognizable forms. Here, then, in principle is what we propose as the origin of religion, that is, as far as it can be explained at all. There must be an inner response to an influence from without before we are able to discover religion in man; and both factors, the subjective and the objective, are necessary to account for the final product. What is that influence from without to which the mind of primitive man responds? It is the total impress of nature, his environment, the outside world, the society of which he is a part, and the unseen, mysterious world which surrounds him, on his primitive mind. The points of contact are without number, and through every one come pouring in all kinds of stimuli. Most of these have no particular religious significance, but some affect him as so strange, so mysterious, so awesome that he trembles when he is in their presence. This sense of mystery and awe in the presence of what he conceives as higher powers coupled with a deep dissatisfaction with his condition, which urged him on to secure what he did not have—this must be the beginning of religion.

When one believes that God has been revealing himself to man in many forms and at all periods in the long story of his life it is possible to take one further step. We are told that there is a light which lighteth every man coming into the world, and that even far removed from any of the legal systems which have been devised there is an inner law in the breasts of men which acts as a monitor over their thoughts and deeds. We may not believe in a primitive revelation in the sense that it consisted of a number of religious ideas placed in the mind of primitive man, but it is a very different matter to believe that man's religious nature, his religious proclivity, is the gift of God, a part of his original endowment, without which, whatever nature or society might have done, religion would never have become a feature of his life.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION

Two results of our study are doubtless already apparent. One is that religion is fundamentally the same thing, whether found among wild men on an island in the South Seas or among the cultivated members of a Christian church. It is always a relationship between man and higher powers, a relationship stimulated by a sense of need. The other result is that all religions hark back to the most primitive forms and are developments from this simple germ. This introduces us at once to our present subject, the development of religion.

The first question is, What is the key to this development? or, What causes a religion to develop into something more complex and sublime? The clue has already been found in the discussion of the origin of religion, where it was seen that without a conscious sense of need man would never have possessed a religion at all. The same causes which led to the first beginnings of religion undoubtedly are the explanation of its development. We may say, then, that the development of religion follows and is determined by a sense of need. When needs are simple and crude, the religion partakes of the same simplicity and crudity; when needs become more extensive and refined, religion changes to meet the new and enlarging needs. We may be sure of this, because, after all the religions we know of have been examined, no savage people have ever been found with a highly developed religion. The religion they possess is suited to their needs and is on the level of their advancement in culture and outlook on life. An intelligent people demand a religion suited to their outlook on life, or else it will gradually become outgrown. If it is not able by reinterpretation or the assimilation of new elements, borrowed or discovered by some farsighted prophet, to meet the newer needs, it is laid aside for other forms or for another religion, which promises the better to fit in with the advance in civilization which has been achieved. In every period of transition from an old order, which has become outworn, to a new order as yet untried, this process has gone on. Some

religions have ceased to exist, and have been replaced by new religions, which interpret better than the old the aspirations of the people as they look forward with hope to a better day. In other cases religions have shown a remarkable capacity of adaptation and have continued to live and thrive until our own time.

There is no more significant or interesting feature of the study of the religions of the world than this. Certain well-marked periods of crisis are to be discovered in the story of every civilized or even semicivilized people, and it is just at these crucial turning points when, after religion has remained stationary, sometimes for a long period, a new life can be discovered stirring among men, and the result is the ushering in of a new age. Just at the present time the religions of the world are passing through such a crisis. The invasion of the Orient by ideas entirely strange, the well-nigh complete acceptance of Western education, and the contact with the moral and religious ideas of Christendom have created an unprecedented situation, involving a crisis in the moral ideals and religious beliefs of all the peoples who have come under their influence. What the outcome will be no one can foresee. One thing is altogether clear: a profound change is taking place, and the final result will be apparent only when the nations have to a greater or less extent settled down again as partakers of the culture of the new age which is dawning.

One of the questions raised by such considerations concerns the strange inequality in development. While no people have been discovered who fail to show some evidence of advance, that advance in many cases is so slight that, compared with the great religious systems of the world, it seems to be sluggish and almost stagnant. Now, the question arises, Why should one religion have advanced and others remained almost in their primitive state? Why should one people have developed needs and others not? Again, why should a people remain savage for untold ages, then suddenly begin the march forward? What makes the difference between peoples? Is it racial precocity? Is it because of outward stimulus? Is it economic, or social, or

individual? No final answer has been found to these and similar questions.

But while these final questions wait for a satisfying answer we may go some distance into the process of development and seek to discover some of its laws. We may say at once that the growth of anything so complex as religion cannot be accounted for by any single cause. Religion must develop through the interaction of many elements, each complex in itself. One of the clues which will provide a fulcrum for our query is that there is an element of conscious purpose which determines the advance man makes in religion. Of course, he does not see the end, and his aim is indefinite, but he does want something and moves forward, even blindly at times, to secure it. This may be spoken of as an evolution, since, in general, there is discernible an advance from the simple to the more complex, from the crude to the cultivated, but several very important factors must be taken into consideration to guard the statement from false inferences. In the first place, while the general trend is toward progress, there come periods of retrogression, of degeneracy, when the advance made seems in danger of being lost. This phenomenon is to be found in many places and makes it very difficult to speak of the whole movement as an evolution—if by that term is meant steady advance out of lower forms into higher. But when the part man himself plays in his development is taken into consideration and given a determinative place in the process, the whole situation begins to clear. Development for man, individual and social, is, as Professor George Galloway points out, a vocation.¹¹ He may not be able to will anything he wants, and his choices may be circumscribed by his outlook and his environment, but—and this is the important point—he must will this or that, or nothing happens. And when we thus introduce into the evolution the personal factor, we are dealing with that which is more or less incalculable. But it is this very human element which makes our study one of abiding interest. We may at any moment

¹¹ *Philosophy of Religion*, Chap. V.

come into the presence of a gifted seer who surprises us by his intuitions and fills us with new confidence in man and the religious life he has developed.

There is, however, another side to this problem of religious development which cannot be neglected if we are to secure a view relatively complete. Does the whole burden of development rest on man alone? Is he the only one concerned in his advance toward a more satisfying life? All the religions have a very definite answer to this question, a decided negative. All believe that in one way or another the divine has been seeking to make its will known to man. Thus the course of the history of religion is from this standpoint the progressive revelation of God to men, a revelation disclosed just as rapidly as men were able to receive it. There is, then, a divine pedagogy, God in his gracious purpose meeting man with his needs and giving him that satisfaction which makes him complete. It is a gradual process, but man is not alone in its realization. God himself, the Creator of man, is seen giving himself in ever fuller and fuller measure until, in the Christian revelation, we see him as he is in the face of Jesus Christ.

If, as we have tried to show, the development of religion proceeds along with and is demanded by the enlarging needs of man, it must be at once evident that the stages in religious growth are co-ordinate with the stages of civilization and culture. Religious development cannot be understood apart from that of culture in general. The steps of the cultural movement are the steps in the development in religion. We shall follow the three stages as given by Professor Galloway, namely, the tribal, the national, and the universal.¹²

1. The Tribal. We do not know how man was organized socially in the beginnings of his life. There are theories according to which he lived promiscuously with his fellows, with no family life, but there is an influential body of opinion today which holds that a monogamous relation between a man and his one wife was the earliest form of relationship in society.

¹² *Philosophy of Religion*, Chap. II.

This view is gaining in influence; the theory of the horde with no family life is losing its hold. But whatever may have been the fact in prehistoric times, we know of no simpler form of communal organization than the tribe. It is spoken of as the "rudimentary form" of social union, and is the form in which all primitive or savage peoples live today. In this stage the individual is of little consequence, and the group as a group is the end-all. There is little or no reflection on life and its meaning, and material interests force themselves on the attention so exclusively that little opportunity is offered for anything intellectual. Longellow's *Hiawatha* is an idealization by a professor in his comfortable home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and never had its counterpart in reality. Savages simply do not have such thoughts and feelings; they are the outcome of a very different social environment. The savage does not lead an idyllic life, and only appears to do so when we from a distance far removed read into his crude, cramped life conceptions foreign to his mind. In this stage law is custom, the members of the tribe being united by the blood-bond and each member following as a matter of course what is expected of him. There is little or no individual initiative, and all feel the bond of mutual responsibility. What affects one affects all, and the blame for what one does is shared by all. Piety, if the word can be used at all, consists in being loyal to the tribe and obeying its mandates and those of the tribal deities. On this level man's interests are determined by the constant necessity of securing enough to eat, and by watchfulness against the dangers of nature and the attacks of his enemies. Under these conditions the savage never rises above his material wants and desires, and his religion remains on that same low level.

2. The National. Man could never get away from the lower stage by pure reflection, for he had not learned to think and had no incentive to do so. Some change induced from the outside was necessary to produce a new stage culturally and religiously. A new set of needs must be created, and this actually came about by the disappearance of the tribe and the rise of the nation. We do not know exactly how this change was brought

about, but conjecture has been able to make quite a satisfying picture of the process. War must have had much to do with it, when one tribe established its rule over other weaker ones, and tribes were brought together and cemented in defense against common enemies from without. Migrations caused by overpopulation and the failure of sufficient subsistence cannot be left out as an important factor. But out of it came the state, with a capital city which exercised authority over the country lying about. In such a state conditions of life differ greatly from those in a tribe. There is now division of labor, the soldier and the priest, the artisan and the farmer emerging and taking their places in the social organism. Reading and writing are now to be found among human accomplishments, and out of them grow chronology and the writing of annals.

Such a civilization demands gods far different from those of the tribe. They must be stronger and wiser and more distinct. A certain division of labor is found among the divinities, and we come to have what are known as "departmental gods." With more complexity in society came gods with more attributes and a richer life. One of the great developments at this stage is a new kind of social morality, and this has the important effect of moralizing the idea of God. The deities begin to be associated with moral ideals in a manner unknown before. With great officials in the nation, from the king himself to the lesser men who are in more immediate contact with the masses of the people, we find the "monarchian idea" worked out among the gods, supreme gods lording it over the lesser divinities, and so on down to gods which scarcely deserve the name. This is but a most general statement, but it may serve to indicate the manner in which the state of civilization is reflected in the organization of the pantheon.

3. The Universal. Out of the national developed the universal. The universal is the outgrowth of a deepening and individualizing of religion. As religion ceases to be merely the possession of a group as such and is seen to involve an individual relationship between the soul and his God, it becomes, potentially at least, universal. What is good for a man as an

individual is good for another man until by implication and in the ideal it begins its journey to claim the allegiance of all men everywhere. Only a few of the religions have thus burst the nationalistic bonds and sought to become international or universal. Most of the great religions have remained through the ages attached to one people or nation. It is a distinct advance when they deepen and develop to such an extent that the very hope of their continued existence seems to lie in propagating them to the ends of the earth. This is the highest form of religion, and is today represented by three virile faiths, namely, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. These three, as representing the missionary idea, must be the high points in our study.

A last consideration must have to do with the method of procedure. We may well take it up here because the three stages of religious development just given point to the most convenient and most significant outline to be followed in the chapters which follow. Much has been written on the classification of religions, and many schemes have been devised, but most of them fail to be convincing. They are of little practical use and do not give any helpful clue in organizing the material at hand. It seems best to take up animistic religion first, representing as it does the religion of man in the more primitive tribal form of organization. Following this the national religions may be studied. Here the problem of order is almost impossible of solution. Two great families of religion are those of the Indo-European peoples and the Semitic peoples. But where shall we place Egyptian religion, which is in no sense Indo-European and only partially Semitic? How shall we study Buddhism, which sprang out of Aryan soil in India, but finally disappeared there and appeared among the so-called Turanian peoples in China, Tibet, Mongolia, Korea, and Japan? The only thing to do is to decide arbitrarily on a certain course, knowing full well that it cannot be entirely satisfactory. So, after having discussed the religion of the animistic peoples we shall take up the national religions, starting in by a study of the ancient faiths of Egypt and of Babylonia and Assyria.

Then we may begin the journey through the broad field of the religions of the Indo-European peoples, those of ancient Greece and Rome, the religion of Zoroaster, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Having done this, we shall cross the mountains into Eastern Asia and examine the religions of China and Japan, in each case carrying on the story of Buddhism as found in these countries. This, then, clears the field for the religions of the Semitic peoples, Judaism and Islam. The last section will be devoted to an inquiry into the origins, the history, and significance of the Christian religion. The journey is a long one, but the student will be amply rewarded as he realizes that he deals with those matters which are deepest in the human heart, and which are of the greatest significance in tracing the history of man and his progress in civilization.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- George Galloway, *The Philosophy of Religion* (New York, 1914), Part I, The Nature and Development of Religion.
- L. R. Farnell; *The Evolution of Religion* (New York, 1905).
- J. B. Pratt, *The Religious Consciousness* (New York, 1920). One of the best of the many discussions of the psychology of religion.
- Paul Radin, *Primitive Religion: Its Nature and Origin* (New York, 1937).
- Robert H. Lowrie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924).
- Alexander LeRoy, *The Religion of the Primitives* (New York, 1922). Three accounts from very different viewpoints.
- R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*, 2d edit. (New York, 1914). An epoch-making volume, as valuable today as when first written.
- Nathan Söderblom, *The Living God* (London, 1933), especially Lecture I.
- W. Schmidt, *The Origin and Growth of Religion* (London, 1931). Presenting an extreme view, much discussed in recent discussions.
- Eric S. Waterhouse, *The Dawn of Religion* (London, 1936).
- E. O. James, *The Origins of Religion* (London, 1937). Two brief recent discussions.

CHAPTER III

ANIMISTIC RELIGION

ANIMISTIC PEOPLES AND THEIR HABITAT

THE religion we are about to describe has been called by various names. It has been spoken of as tribal or primitive religion, and also by the name we have used. Not any one is entirely satisfactory. "Tribal religion" is an accurate designation because all the people who have this form of religion and have not advanced beyond it are in the tribal form of organization. It is only because one or two other terms penetrate a little deeper into the inner meaning of the beliefs and practices of these people that it is not used. Probably the most widely used designation at the present time is "primitive religion." The difficulty is that what we are dealing with is not really primitive. The religion of the most backward peoples in the world gives undeniable evidences of development out of something more simple and crude. At best it only approximates the primitive, and is far removed from what might be described correctly by that word. There is objection also to the word "animistic" because that attitude of mind is not left behind when higher forms of religion are attained, and so is not peculiar to those who are at the religious stage which is designated by that name. But it is used here because it is the animistic outlook or interpretation of their world which dominates all the thoughts and actions of the backward peoples. Their religion is the relationship which these peoples have established between themselves and certain of the spirits of their animism. Hence this term penetrates to the underlying philosophy of these peoples and has been chosen to designate their religion in these studies.

There is good reason why this form of religion should be most carefully investigated, and why it should be studied first. As has already been pointed out, all the more fully developed

religions of the world have emerged out of these more primitive forms. They have all passed through the animistic stage and cannot be understood without a knowledge of this period of their development. So far as is feasible attention will be directed to the animistic background of each religion before going on to the forms it has later assumed. In this way we shall be dealing with animistic religion frequently and not only in this chapter. And even among the most civilized and cultured peoples many remnants or vestiges of this early stage are still to be found. Superstitions of all kinds abound, many of them innocent and others far more serious in their effect. The good fortune to be expected from an old horseshoe and the ill luck which flows from the number thirteen will suggest a score of other superstitions known and more or less believed in among our own friends and relations. How common they are! One of the railroads in our country was compelled to change the numbers of its trains in which "13" occurred. Try to find room number 13 in a hotel or even floor number 13. They may be found, but very infrequently. What is the meaning of these strange "survivals"? No adequate explanation can be given without an understanding of the animistic outlook. These furtive beliefs have only been handed down because in each generation receptive minds respond eagerly to such stimuli, minds which have failed to rise to the stage from which these puerile notions have been banished. But they are with us far and wide and it becomes our duty to recognize the large place they occupy and understand their significance in our civilization.

No census has been taken of the animistic peoples as a whole. We know how many there are in the United States, in India, and in some other countries, but for the most part they have lived until so recently outside the pale of civilization that any exact enumeration was impossible. Now that the whole world has been parceled out and the uncultured peoples are under the supervision of one or another of the more powerful nations we may expect that more certain knowledge of the numbers of animists may be forthcoming. At the present time we must

depend upon estimates. And when estimates differ widely, we can only say that we do not know much about the subject. One estimate gives a hundred and fifty-seven millions¹ and another a hundred and seventy-three millions.² At any rate they form a not inconsiderable part of the population of the earth. In no place is the population dense, the very conditions of their life making anything approaching overcrowding impossible.

They are scattered more or less over both hemispheres. No continent, not even Europe, is without some representatives of these uncultured tribes. We have on this side of the Atlantic the Eskimos and the many tribes of aboriginal Indians, both in North and South America. The largest single group is to be found in Africa, where the various Negro and Bantu tribes occupy the central and southern parts of the continent. On the mainland of Asia are various aboriginal tribes, such as the Ainu in Japan, the Lolos and other tribes in the mountain and desert fastnesses of northern, western, and southwestern China, the hill tribes of India, such as the Bhils, the Gonds and many others. In many cases the more primitive peoples have been displaced by the coming of those who, emigrating from some previous abode, have taken possession of the country and driven the former occupants back into the more inaccessible and undesirable sections of the country. There they have remained much as they were centuries ago. Again, in the island world of the Southern Pacific conditions are much as they are in Africa. A large population of animistic tribesmen, out of touch through ages with peoples of a higher civilization, live a life which has taken its form with no outside influence to turn it from its natural development. The great islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and New Guinea, the Philippines, and many hundreds of other lesser islands off the coast of Asia, are inhabited by countless tribes of people in various stages of development. Attention must also be called to the aboriginal

¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, article, "Missions."

² Zeller, as quoted in Warneck's *History of Protestant Missions*, 10th German edition.

tribes in Australia, very low in the cultural scale, and in New Zealand, where the Maori have advanced farther than most of these primitive peoples. Besides these are the people of the hundreds of small islands, some little better than coral reefs, scattered over the face of the broad Pacific. Coming now very rapidly under the influence of Western nations, these people are showing many signs of change. They are still for the most part in the animistic stage, but this condition must soon be exchanged for another, as they come into more intimate contact with the commerce and education and religion of the Western world. The contact already had has been both beneficial and baneful, and the serious question is whether the last end of these simple people may not be worse than the first. It all depends upon the side of our culture and civilization which succeeds in making itself felt most powerfully as these people leave their old moorings and enter the troubled stream of modern life.

Even under favorable conditions the effects of this contact have been doubtful. (The question is being seriously discussed whether these people can continue to exist under the conditions of modern civilization. Serious results have come to light in various centers, as in the South Sea Islands. Not only commercial and political contacts have been held responsible for physical decay and loss of morale, but Christian missions. It is claimed that their methods are not based on an understanding of these natives and that the net result of their endeavors is not good. On the other hand, there has been a vigorous defense of their work, while acknowledgment is freely made that methods must change to suit the particular needs of tribes and peoples now emerging from savagery into a new and difficult environment. The conditions in the Ao Naga Tribe in Assam, India, have been carefully studied from this standpoint. Dr. William Carlson Smith, a trained sociologist and a former missionary, has published the results of his investigation under the direction of the government of Assam. He comes to the conclusion that what has been done for these people has been beneficial, but that methods must change. He quotes from Dr. W. H. R.

Rivers, a well-known anthropologist, "It is essential that the change should grow naturally out of native institutions and should not be forced upon the people without their consent and without any attempt to rouse their interest."³ Doctor Smith declares that "the old idea of individual salvation will not make the necessary provision; the group and its social organization must be taken into consideration," and then adds, "The outlook is not a gloomy one" (p. 223).

The great variety of animistic peoples scattered over the world is an embarrassment when their religious life is to be studied. Each tribe has religious practices and beliefs which differ from those of others. It would seem that the only way in which the religion of these people could be adequately presented would be to take each tribe or group of similar tribes separately and give an account of its religious rites and beliefs. This is the only way in which the great national religions can be treated, so individual are they and so different in their history and outlook. But while the religion of one tribe is not the same as that of another, the differences are not so great as those between the more developed faiths. As soon as certain differences are noted a marked sameness is to be discovered. Probably owing to the lack of suppleness in the thought-life of the animist much less diversity is to be found. Thought is weak and covers a very limited range. Its reactions are spontaneous and naïve, and hence more or less alike even among peoples separated by half the circumference of the globe. This being the case, it is possible to come to an understanding of the meaning of animistic religion by a careful study of a comparatively small number of well-selected facts.

Before taking up the various aspects of savage belief and life it may be well to call attention to several of its more general characteristics. It has been suggested that the religion of peoples living in the tribal form of organization exhibits three marked peculiarities, that it is traditional, natural, and spontaneous.

³ "Depopulation of Melanesia," quoted in *The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*, p. 220.

1. *Traditional.* These forms of religion, like the culture out of which they spring, have no written language and no literature. This means no history and no possibility of any significant and conscious progress. The religion of these peoples is about what it was long ago. No advance can be made until the existing social order has been changed into something higher. Religion may do this, but it must be religion brought in from the outside. Other causes, economic, political, and social, will do their part. So long as the only means of passing on from one generation to another the accumulated wisdom of the past is by word of mouth there is no hope of building up civilization which shall show marks of steady improvement. A traditional civilization is always stationary; it only rises to higher levels when its acts can be recorded and transmitted to posterity in forms which are permanent.

2. *Natural.* By which is meant that the natural desires are about as far as the savage goes in his outreach. He is of necessity so occupied with the material and physical that no other needs are felt. Shelter and enough to eat, provision for his animals, protection against his enemies, the satisfaction of his primary impulses—these are about all he thinks about. His needs are simple and crude and can never become more complex and refined so long as he continues to live this life. He is not awake to himself and the latent possibilities of his deeper nature. Spiritual attainment is denied him because he has never felt any aspiration after higher things. This condition is not accidental; it is inevitable so long as people remain on this level. We are dealing, then, with man not at his best, but man undeveloped and curtailed and cramped and dwarfed. He is a man, to be sure, but a man without the touch which lifts him out of the purely natural into the sphere of the spirit.

3. *Spontaneous.* Their religion springs from no founder and there have been no crucial turning-points which have determined the direction it should take. It has grown spontaneously as a feature of the life and culture of the tribe, and as unconsciously as any other feature. Like everything else in the life about him, the animistic savage takes religion for

granted, as he does the hill which stands opposite his village and the chief of the tribe. Everything to his mind has always been as it is now and needs no further justification or explanation. Religion is perfectly normal and as much a part of his life as sleeping at night or going to battle when an enemy approaches. Spontaneity, together with the other two characteristics just mentioned, shows us religion at its lowest level and almost at a standstill. Variations are to be found, but they are variations within the limits just given by these three descriptive terms.

ANIMISM AND THE MYSTERIOUS POWER

All people believe in spirits. No people have been discovered without it. These spirits are everywhere—in the sky above, on the earth beneath, in the depths of the waters, and in dark caverns and recesses of the mysterious mountains. All nature is tenanted by an invisible host of spiritual beings not far away from man and likely at any moment to make their presence felt in any one of a hundred ways. It is easy to understand why the savage should think that animals are possessed of spirits like ourselves, but it is not at first sight evident why the inanimate objects of nature should be so possessed. But we must always remember that he had to interpret everything in terms of his own life and powers, on the principle of analogy. He had no other recourse. Rivers and lakes, mountains and hills, trees and shrubs, sticks and stones, are the dwelling places of spirits. The clouds, the stars, the sun and the moon likewise are what they are because of indwelling spirit. Savage man lives in a densely populated world. Not only are these spirits the invisible souls of the objects around him, but there are legions of free spirits flitting around in the air, homeless wanderers, not belonging in any one place, but at liberty to travel and range over a wide area. He may know where many spirits are by the objects which they inhabit, but that does not do away with his sense of helplessness and uncertainty in an emergency. He cannot tell when and where a mischievous imp may trip him as he walks or some devilish ogre pull him under the sur-

face of the water and cause him to drown. And then there is the smallpox demon who may attack his village, or the blight which may destroy his meager crop. Whatever happens is caused by a spiritual agency. "What spirit killed my cow?" asks the savage, or "Who caused the awful flood last spring?" The savage, in other words, is an animist; he lives in a world that is alive and throbbing with vitality.

Now, while he believes in spirits this primitive man is not spiritual in the true sense. He has not learned to distinguish between a material and a spiritual world. To him there is no essential difference between the visible and the invisible. He may not be able to see the spirit, but it might be seen, he thinks. He looks upon it as a more or less thin vapory substance which has qualities not possessed by the heavier, tangible things he sees, but is of the same general character. Very naturally he identifies the soul with the breath, for when a man ceases to breathe, his spirit or soul has left. This breath cannot usually be seen, but it can be felt, and, on occasion when condensation takes place, it has visible form and can be seen flowing from a man's mouth and nostrils. He identifies this with the soul of the man himself; he has not risen above the purely physical in his explanation of the unseen world around him. The soul is also identified with the blood—does not life flow out with the blood leaving an inert corpse?

That dreams have played an important part in making the realm of the spirit real there can be little doubt. A dream is just as real an experience to people living on this plane as the experience of their waking moments. They or their spirits actually do the things they dream about. While they dream, their bodies may remain in the place where they lay down, but their spirits have traveled far and have passed through strange and wonderful experiences. There is no doubt about it at all. The only difference between a dream and death is that when one dreams, his spirit has departed for a season only, while when a man dies, his spirit does not come back. Flowing naturally from this is his unfailing belief in a life after death. He continues to live on, in a world which he may have visited

before. It is perfectly natural for him to think that way. His ideas may differ according to natural conditions and social environment, but the belief is there, unquenchable and strong.

Without attempting to go back into stages of development man has left behind, we find in the mind of primitive peoples today a conception which may explain the belief in spirits. It is the conception of a mysterious pervasive power present in the universe and recognized in many forms of activity. The familiar name by which it is known is taken from Polynesia, where it is called *mana*. But it is known by other names, *manitu* by the Algonquian family of Indians, *orenda* by the Iroquoian family, and *wakan* by the Sioux, and by still other names elsewhere. But by whatever name it is called it is looked upon as about the same thing. The word *mana* came into our vocabulary through the classic statement of Bishop R. H. Codrington, in his volume, *The Melanesians*: "It is a power or influence, not physical, and in a way supernatural; but it shows itself in physical force, or in a kind of power or excellence which a man possesses. This *mana* is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have it and can impart it; and it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water, or a stone, or a bone."⁴ Professor C. H. Toy sums up its meaning in this short sentence: "It is, in a word, a term for the force residing in any object."⁵

It is known that the conception does not exist among the most degraded savages, that some further development seems to be necessary before men rise to the thought. It is true also that as civilization advances the idea is laid aside and ceases to function as a definite belief. But among animistic peoples as they are found the world over the idea of this quasi-personal force is present and very influential as an explanation of about all that happens. Men are alive and do things, chiefs have authority, a tree puts out fruit and leaves, an animal secures its

⁴ *The Melanesians*, p. 119.

⁵ *Introduction to the History of Religions*, p. 101.

prey, a fisherman is successful in his catch, and a thousand other things are what they are and accomplish what is done, all because of this mysterious power. As we proceed in our study of the religion of these people, of their divine beings and their worship, of magic and fetishism, of totemism and taboo, recourse must be had to this conception, for without it there would be no means of explaining the results which appear and the activities and repressions which make up the life of the animistic peoples.

THE HIGHER POWERS OF ANIMISTIC RELIGION

What we have been describing is not religion but the raw material out of which religion is made. It has been called the "Seed of Religion." Coming to the more definite question of the objects of worship, the first thing to be said is that they are the spirits of their animism, impregnated one might say with the mysterious power *mana*. Not all of them are worshiped, but the more primitive peoples know of no other objects of worship. Let us beware just here of concluding that these people do much thinking in our sense of the word. Their religion is far more a matter of the emotions than of the intellect. Their minds are greatly confused, and what they do depends to a much greater extent on the impulse of the moment and the excitement born of a dance or a period of fasting or an impressive ceremonial than on sober thought. The instability of savage nerves is mentioned frequently by writers on the life of primitive people. Their reactions are largely of the high-strung, emotional type and cannot be understood without taking this into consideration. As a result their choice of divinities and the worship accorded them is a choice determined by the emotional reaction of the savage to his environment. He is aware of scores and hundreds of spirits around him, he turns to some of them in worship, and this becomes his religion.

We do not know what spirits he worshiped first. Herbert Spencer's attempt to prove that ancestors were the first gods men worshiped has failed to convince. All we know is that man is found worshipping a great variety of beings and doing

it rather indiscriminately. The question of interest, however, is to determine why certain objects were chosen instead of others, for, although the savage may not know why, there must be some reason for his choice. One thing is sure: the only being he would worship must be one which for one reason or another appears to him as possessed of power superior to his own. For this reason the gods of these peoples are frequently called Powers. That is the necessary and almost the only necessary qualification. In wisdom, skill, cunning, as well as in physical prowess he must exceed the might of man. This is determined in ways which to us appear naïve and utterly inadequate. Mere physical force may not seem to us to be indicative of superiority, but it does to a savage. But besides this he is struck by what is strange, uncanny, mysterious, or even grotesque and queer. All these aspects of the things he finds go beyond his power of comprehension and suggest power, and often for no other reason than their mysteriousness. And in this way the pantheon, if it can be dignified by that name, of savage people is not consistent and the same. New objects are constantly attracting the attention of the animist and taking the place of other powers now shrunk down to more ordinary dimensions.

Inanimate objects are worshiped wherever animists are found. Trees are alive and provide shade and food—should they not be worshiped? "Although the tree is rooted to one spot, it responds to every influence without. Swayed by the breeze, or smitten by the storm, it is never at rest. Murmurs are heard in its leaves, or its branches creak and writhe as in agony; sounds are emitted from the gaunt stem or hollow trunk—voices, the savage doubts not, of the indwelling spirit whose life seems permanently associated with the fixed tree."⁶ Stones are also widely worshiped. To a savage a stone may be very much alive despite its immobility. It is so hard and sometimes so strange in color and shape that he is deeply fascinated and turns in real adoration to it and asks for some boon.

⁶ Edward Clodd, *Animism*, p. 72.

Added to this is the fact that some of these stones fell from heaven and hence must surely be divine. Meteorites have been the objects of adoration in many countries. "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," was the shout of devoted worshipers of an ugly aerolite within the beautiful temple built to house it. Another such stone was that of Cybele, the Great Mother of the Gods, which was brought to Rome in 204 B. C., when the city was in danger of attack by Hannibal. These illustrations show the influence of stone worship in religions which had passed out of the stage we are now considering. In Nigeria "when men are sick in town, we cast lots, and then give food to the stones. We also give them palm-wine or gin."⁷ But besides these, plants and mountains and fire and winds and waters are objects of worship, and in each case there is some reason for the choice.

The greater objects of nature—the overarching sky, the dazzling sun, the resplendent moon, the distant stars—all come in for their share of attention in the cult. But it must be said that the lesser objects of nature, more nearly connected with their daily wants and work, occupy the attention of these simple people far more than the grand, awe-inspiring heavenly bodies. At a later time, when religion had achieved a higher level, these greater objects came to their own. The last form assumed by paganism before it went down before Christianity in the fourth century was the worship of Sol Invictus, the "Invincible Sun."

If objects inanimate serve as divinities for the savage, how much more animals, full of life and movement and cunning. The majesty of the lion, the ferocity of the tiger, the wisdom of the elephant, the cunning of the fox, the mysteriousness of the snake led in each case to an attitude approaching worship. They inspired fear and needed propitiation. This form of worship was at times carried over into more highly developed religions, as we shall see strikingly illustrated in the religion of Egypt. Savages attribute to animals a wisdom and cunning far

⁷ Edward Clodd, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

beyond their due. This lifts them up to a plane as high, if not higher, than man himself and makes worship seem quite natural. And even where actual worship is not paid to animals, they are held sacred, and marks of respect and veneration are shown them.

The worship of human beings is widely spread, though it is too much to say that it is universal. Living men, chiefs and kings, emperors and saints, have been deified and worshiped. A great man is possessed of power of the same kind as causes one to tremble in the presence of a strong animal or a rushing torrent, and hence may be worshiped. Thus the cult of the dead is so important that we must give it special attention. Historical personages, legendary or mythical ancestors among many peoples have been looked upon as legitimate objects of worship. Among savages, however, as well as among peoples more civilized, a man's own ancestors are raised to a high place among his gods. A careful distinction should probably be made between reverence and worship. In many cases the attitude is not that of a worshiper at all, but when it does rise to that height it is veritable worship. As early as the fourth century B. C. the Sicilian Euhemerus promulgated the theory that all the gods were deified men who had passed over into the spirit world.

Death makes a difference. A man cannot be the same after he dies that he was when alive. Not hampered by his body, he is free to roam at large. He has powers which were not his before. He has not, however, become a spiritual being, in our sense of the word, even though he is invisible. He has the same desires and wants. Food and drink, clothing and weapons, and in the case of the great man, servants and attendants are as necessary as before. He has not passed beyond the pale of his former relationships and knows quite well what is going on. It is even thought that his condition in the other world is determined, at least in part, by the treatment he continues to receive from his family. Should he fail to receive what he believes to be his due, his anger is aroused and he may inflict

sore chastisement on his relatives here below. It is chiefly those of the past two or three generations who are worshiped. Even in China, where ancestor worship has been carried along through all the stages of their development in civilization, after the second or third generation the ancestral tablets are removed to the clan hall. When memory becomes weak or fails, the ancestor fades out of the life of the living and his place is taken by those more recently lost.

What of the motives which actuate men when they worship their departed dead? Undoubtedly love and the desire to treat well and provide for their comfort have had influence wherever this worship is found, but the general testimony is that fear is the most powerful motive. It is well to keep on good terms with the dead. No one can tell what might happen if the sacrifices were neglected. As spirits, resentful of the neglect and unfaithfulness of their descendants, they would undoubtedly bring ill-luck and catastrophe upon the living family. This form of worship is distinctively social and tends to keep the family together and gives its members common interests and a common sanction for their ethical standards. These must be lived up to, or the family may suffer. In this way ancestor worship has been of benefit to the race despite the fear motive.

One of the most singular and baffling features of the religion of savages is fetishism. The term comes from the Portuguese *feitiço* (Latin, *facere*, "to make"), a word applied by Portuguese sailors to the little objects held sacred by West African natives, which were regarded by the Europeans as charms or talismans. What does it mean in modern religious nomenclature? It is very confusing, so much so that some have been tempted to give it up entirely. The philosopher Comte makes it mean what we have called by the general name of animism. Doctor Nassau and Miss Kingsley have given the name to all the religious practices of the West African Negroes. It is not in either of these senses that we use the word here, but in a much narrower one. As Professor Menzies says, "It is best

to limit it to the worship of such natural objects as are revered, not for their own power or excellence, but because they are supposed to be occupied each by a spirit.”⁸

A fetish may be (a) any object whatsoever, which (b) is thought to be inhabited by a spirit, and which (c) its possessor may make use of for his own benefit. There must be some reason why the native selects a particular object, something about it which appeals to him and shows that it possesses supernatural power. Something strikes him as being out of the ordinary, and that is enough; he will take it as his fetish. “So the fetish consists of a queer-shaped stone, a bright bead, a stick, parrots’ feathers, a root, claw, seed, bone, or any curious or conspicuous object.” Professor Tylor relates the story of how a man chose a stone about as big as a hen’s egg for his fetish. “He was going out on important business, but crossing the threshold he trod on this stone and hurt himself. ‘Ha, ha!’ thought he, ‘art thou here?’ So he took the stone, and it helped him through his undertaking for days.”⁹

In West Africa a fetish is not so much found as made or concocted by the witch doctor or medicine man. We may quote from Dr. R. H. Nassau: “The next step, the admixture of the ingredients, is secret. They are ground or triturated, or reduced to ashes, and only the ash or charcoal of their wood is used. Among the common ingredients are colored earths, chalk, or potter’s blue clay. Beyond the usual constituents constantly employed there are other single ones, which vary according to the end to be obtained by the user of the fetish—for one end, as elsewhere already mentioned, some portion of an enemy’s body; for another, an ancestor’s powdered brain; for another, the liver or gall bladder of an animal; for another, a finger of a dead first-born child; for another, a certain fish; and so on for a thousand possibilities. These ingredients are compounded in secret, and with public drumming, dancing, songs to the spirit, looking into limpid water or a mirror, and some-

⁸ *History of Religion*, p. 33.

⁹ Both quotations from Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism*, p. 73.

times with the addition of jugglers' tricks, for example, the eating of fire.

"The ingredients having been thus properly prepared, and the spirit, according to the magician's declarations, having associated itself lovingly with these mixed articles, they and it are put into the cavity of the selected horn or other hollow thing (a gourd, a nut shell, and so forth). They are packed in firmly. A black resin is plastered over the opening. . . . While the resin is still soft, the red tail-feathers of the gray African parrot are stuck into it. This description is typical."¹⁰

Now, the fetish is very much like a man. It possesses personality and will; it can feel and knows the meaning of anger and resentment as well as gratitude and kindness. It is also human in that while the particular spirit which belongs to the natural object can belong to no other, it can be and is sometimes separated from the object and seems to disappear. Then the natural object ceases to be of any value; that is, it ceases to be a fetish. Everything depends on the presence of the spirit to make the fetish object a source of benefit to its possessor. A fetish is quite different from an idol, though at times it may look like one. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a fetish "is worshiped in its own character, not as the symbol, image, or occasional residence of a deity." It also differs from a charm or amulet or talisman in that it has potency because of the spirit which resides in it. When the spirit leaves, it is no longer a fetish, it is only an inert, useless stick or stone, or whatever it is.

The fetish is treated as an object of worship, has offerings made to it, and is addressed in prayer. But this is only a part of the procedure. If the ends sought are not gained in this way, the attitude changes and the fetish is coaxed and even commanded to bring about the desired result. If this does not succeed, the little thing is scolded for its disobedience and may be compelled to submit to punishment. And, finally, if this vigorous treatment proves unsuccessful, the conclusion is

¹⁰ *Fetichism in West Africa*, pp. Ixxf.

reached that the spirit has departed, or at any rate that some more powerful spirit is interfering with the operation of the fetish. About all there is to do after such a discovery is made is to lay it aside or throw it away altogether. The savage does not lose faith in his theory or in the practice; he has only come to the conclusion that the particular fetish he had is of no use—he must proceed to find another.

A number of theories have been advanced concerning the origin of fetishism and its relation to the development of religion. That it is a very low form of religion no one can deny. This has led some to the conclusion that it is the earliest form of religion, the crude beginning of man's attempt to relate himself to powers recognized as stronger than himself. Others feel that it is a backward step from a form of religion which was developing in the right direction, but which received an unfortunate setback. Professor Menzies speaks of a fetish as "a deity at his disposal," not above man, but below him, which if it will not do what man wants at his request, must be made to do so by coercion. So far as the origin of this strange form of "religion" is concerned, we shall probably never be able to find a satisfactory explanation. But we may do that which is more important—find its meaning and evaluate it. We can only do that, however, by studying fetishism in its relation to magic, which is done in a later section of the chapter. Suffice it to say here that fetishism is a deadening influence in the life of the animist, and is one of the factors which tend to keep him down in the mire of dread and apprehension in which his life is so largely lived.

In our discussion of the origin of religion in the previous chapter attention was directed to the presence among primitive peoples of a belief in All-Fathers or "High Gods." And now it is necessary to consider this conception, not in its relation to origins, but as a feature of the religious life of these peoples. Dr. Paul Radin, in his latest volume, states, "As far as our present actual knowledge goes, it can be said that the most typical instances of an aboriginal belief in a Supreme Deity are to be found among the simplest and among the most complex of

primitive civilizations."¹¹ His list includes "the southeastern Australians, the Andaman Islanders, the Negritos of the Philippine Islands, and the Selknam of Tierra del Fuego"—all representative of simple cultures. Of those representing complex cultures the list includes "the Polynesians, the major civilizations of West, East, and South Africa, and the Caddoan, the Dakota, and the Winnebago Indians of the United States" (page 257). There are probably others, but of these there can be no doubt that they possess this belief in Supreme Deities. These gods have definite names. Among the Australian aborigines they are known as Daramulun, Baiame, Bunjil, Nurelli, and in America as Ahone, Pachacamac, Tui Laga, and others. But very much more important is it to know what they stand for in the savage mind. Bishop LeRoy tells of four classes of names which he believes are descriptive of their character and activities. There are expressions which carry with them (a) the idea of the creator, or organizer, (b) the thought of greatness and power, (c) the conception of these beings as the soul of the universe, and others (d) which connect them with the light, the sky, or the sun.¹²

How did the conception of these beings arise? We simply do not know. There are those who believe it is not original with these simple peoples and that it was introduced directly or indirectly by missionaries, a theory we have already had reason to reject. The conception is too deeply embedded in the life and thought and language of widely scattered tribes to be accounted for in this way. Andrew Lang's opinion is that supreme beings were conceived by savages attempting to answer the question, Why do we perform these religious rites? They constructed aetioloical myths, stories intended to explain origins. It is held by others that these high gods are idealized chiefs or dead heroes elevated in later generations to a super-human plane. Again, that the idea arises as a personification of *mana*. One of the strangest explanations is that of the anthropologist R. R. Marett, who believes that in Australia the

¹¹ *Primitive Religion*, p. 257.

¹² A. LeRoy, *The Religion of Primitives*, pp. 115-19.

idea arose in attempting to answer the question, Why do men perform the bull-roarer rite? This is not a complete explanation, but he holds there is evidence of a "tendency to elevate the bull-roarer into a personality dominating the rite."¹³ It would take us too far afield to give a complete description of the bull-roarer and the rites connected with it. Among boys in many parts of the world the bull-roarer is enjoyed because it makes such an unearthly noise. It has a terrifying effect on cattle. But among the Australians its booming causes mystic wonder. It has been deliberately kept away from young boys, and its awful sound frightens them during their puberty initiation. During the long rite it is disclosed to them, but when they see it, the mystic fear is not dissipated. "The Supreme Being is always the personified power that is manifested in the initiation rite" (page 168). This is sufficient to show how intimately the bull-roarer is associated with these higher powers among the Australian natives.

There is still another word necessary. How does this conception of High Gods function in the actual life of these people? All agree that it plays an insignificant part. Daramulun (or any other of these beings) does not enter into their daily life. He is off at a distance, paying little attention to men. He has no local habitation or temple; no offerings are made to him. He is looked upon in a hazy way as a creator and as the controller of nature, but has nothing to do with the individual man. These gods are "away on the fringe of their consciousness."¹⁴ They may at one time have been more important but now other deities occupy the attention of these primitive peoples and are worshiped by them. Much investigation and critical evaluation are necessary before the last word can be said.

Are the gods or higher powers of animistic religion good gods? What, in other words, is their character? We already have a clue. The beings they worship partake of the character of the nature from which they are taken, and the simple fact is that nature has no moral character. It is not moral or

¹³ *The Threshold of Religion*, pp. 150f.

¹⁴ E. W. Smith, *The Religion of Lower Races*, p. 55.

immoral, but simply nonmoral; it is neutral ethically. But there is another side to the question: nature may not be good or evil in a moral sense, but she does not treat people in the same way on all occasions. Sometimes she is like a tender mother or a beautiful summer afternoon, when peace reigns everywhere and no sign of disturbance appears on the horizon. But nature has other moods and may become as fierce and ravenous as a wild beast, "red in tooth and claw." A West Indian hurricane, a tornado, an earthquake, a tidal wave, a volcanic eruption, all represent that other side, which is very different from the calm and quiet of an autumn sunset. Yet all come from the same source—what can the savage think of nature and the spirits who are so kind and also so destructive? In his mind they may have a common origin, and he distinguishes between the spirits which are beneficent and kind and the demons which are constantly seeking to do him harm.

The strange thing, however, is that the mind of the savage is occupied far more with the demons whose influence he is seeking to escape than the good spirits which might be depended on to take his side and accomplish his desire. It is exceeding doubtful whether, before man had begun to till the soil and thus formulate the conception of the gods and goddesses of fertility and agriculture, his mind was not so occupied with the malignant spirits which were constantly on the watch to do him injury that little opportunity was offered for thought about the good spirits whom he might have discovered. But when the age of agriculture is reached, unmistakable signs indicate that the soil which furnishes food for man and beast is looked upon as kindly. "Mother-Earth" is the term used to express this feeling of gratitude and dependence. She at least could be depended on. But even then the fear of the evil spirits which bring blight and drought and the grasshopper is not absent. He has confidence in certain spirits, but he lives a life of fear nevertheless, a life not to be envied as idyllic by those who live under more favorable conditions. So long as man remains in the tribal form of organization he seems unable to rise above

the purely natural into the realm of ethical good. He has his standards of action, and the moral does enter in and determine to some extent his conduct, but, to use Professor Galloway's words, "There are no instances of the evolution of an ethical religion by a tribal group."¹⁵

TOTEMISM AND TABOO

Our main interest is religion, but closely connected with the religion of animistic peoples are customs and practices without which their life—and consequently their religion—would be very different. One of these is totemism. Now, a totem is an animal (or a plant or even, in a few cases, an inanimate object) very closely related to a group, which, because of that relationship, holds it as something sacred. The group is sometimes named after the totem, from which it is often thought to be descended. The word "totem" comes from the language of the Ojibway Indians (Chippewa) and signifies "a group." This relation of the group to its totem separates it from other groups, each with its own totem. It thus became a form of social organization determining many features of the life of the tribe. It is found developed most fully among the American Indians and the aboriginal tribes of Australia, but clear indications of its presence are to be discovered in many other regions. There are those who believe that totemism is a stage of development through which all peoples have passed, and that it is essential in order to explain many features of subsequent development. But there are many peoples who give no evidence of ever having passed through the totemic stage. The difficulty is that what may seem to be a survival of totemism may turn out to be only a survival of animal worship with no totemic implication.

Totemism is so complex and multiform that no attempt can be made to describe it here. Its connection with religion, however, may be pointed out. The totem animal, to which the totem group believes itself related, is frequently regarded

¹⁵ *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 108.

as the ancestor of the group. There is no difficulty among savages in believing in a relationship between men and animals. They are so much alike that passage from one species to another is not strange nor unheard of in tales repeated by the fire-side. As the ancestor of a group of men and women the animal may even be worshiped. It must not be killed or maltreated. The only exception to this rule is that among some peoples the totem animal is killed on certain important occasions and eaten sacramentally by all who belong to that totem clan. They look upon it as the re-establishment of the bond between the group and its totem, thus insuring friendly relations during the time to come. But even where this custom does not prevail and no worship is offered, the people are bound together closely and look upon what they do as a sacred obligation, not far distant from religion. A common obligation holds them together and leads them to feel a sense of mutual obligation and responsibility.

Closely connected with totemism are several other customs most important in the life of the savage. There is, in the first place, exogamy, or marriage outside the totem clan. This custom is very widely spread and is one of the most beneficial provisions in savage life. It effectually prevents intermarriage between close relatives—effectually, for the savage does not break over these unwritten by absolutely binding customs. The origin of exogamy is unknown. How did such a beneficial rule come into existence among people so far down in the social scale? Professor Wilhelm Wundt, in his *Elements of Folk Psychology*, disagrees strongly with the theory that exogamy arose out of conscious intention of avoiding marriage within the bonds of near relationship. He holds that a scholar like Professor J. G. Frazer ascribes far too much intelligence and foresight to men in their backward condition. The complicated organization of social life to which exogamy belongs is the result of a long development and not the deliberate plan of the so-called “wise ancestors” of the present-day savage. It is hard to avoid Professor Wundt’s conclusion that “the phe-

nomena arose in the course of a long period of time, out of conditions immanent in the life and cult of these tribes."¹⁶

Widely among savage peoples certain rites of initiation are practiced upon young men and women. When at the time of puberty they pass out of childhood into manhood and womanhood they are initiated into the secret lore of their people. Then is disclosed to them the meaning of customs and practices previously withheld, and they are admitted fully into the life of the tribe. The ceremonies are long and complicated and subject the initiates to great pain and weird and disgusting and even immoral ordeals. Accompanied by noise and dances which render the night hideous, the ritual is performed in strict adherence to the traditions handed down from generation to generation. These ceremonies are largely social, but some of the secrets divulged are of a religious nature, having to do with sacred objects and the cult connected with them. We have already referred to these rites in Australia and their connection with the bull-roarer.

Tabu (taboo) comes from the Polynesian *tapu*, which means "sacred" or "prohibited." Thus the term means, as a noun, a prohibition placed upon contact with or use of certain things set aside as peculiarly sacred. Its connection with totemism is that the totem is "taboo" to the members of that totem clan, but taboo has a far wider application than that. It is a widespread idea, and all over the world the practice is in full force, affecting the acts and plans of men in almost all their relationships. An illustration may be taken from the Todas, a backward people in South India, whose religion centers around a dairy-ritual. "Many, though not all, of their buffaloes are sacred, and their milk may not be drunk. The reason why it may not be drunk anthropologists may cast about to discover, but the Todas themselves do not know. All that they know, and are concerned to know, is that things would somehow all go wrong if anyone were foolish enough to commit such a sin. So in the Toda temple, which is a dairy, the Toda priest,

who is the dairyman, sets about rendering the sacred products harmless. . . . Thus the ritual is essentially precautionary. A taboo is the hinge of the whole affair."¹⁷

The number of taboos is almost endless. Taboos against coming into contact with rulers and chiefs, against having social intercourse with strangers, against contact with persons at certain times and under certain conditions, such as mourners, women, warriors, hunters, and fishers. There are tabooed articles, as iron, sharp weapons, the head, the hair, and the nails. The use of certain names is also prohibited, personal names, names of relatives, of the dead, of kings and other sacred persons, and the name of Deity. In the Old Testament the ark of the covenant was taboo (1 Chronicles 13. 7-10), and the Sabbath (the fourth Commandment). The Hebrews would not use the name of God, which was probably *Yahweh*, but in its place substituted the word *Adonai*, which means "Lord."

The question may be asked relative to taboo, Why is the prohibition placed upon an object, thus rendering it sacred and inviolable? Professor Frazer's explanation is that the object is considered taboo, or prohibited, because the animist believes that by doing the thing which is taboo evil results will follow automatically by a kind of mechanical and impersonal necessity. He speaks of it as "negative magic"; that is, if you do not do this or that, the dreadful thing you fear will not happen. But Professor Marett does not believe this is a valid explanation; he would account for taboo by the presence of *mana*, the pervasive force which vitalizes and in this case renders dangerous the things which possess it. The object or the person which is taboo is believed to possess an especially large amount of that mysterious power which if released by contact will cause calamity, pain, ill-luck, and even death. That we must have prohibitions to keep us from harm is most evident. A baby must not be allowed to touch a hot stove—that suggests a hundred other salutary "Thou shalt nots." The main difficulty

¹⁷ R. R. Marett, *Anthropology*, pp. 217f.

with the whole theory as held by savage people is that it is devoid of reasonable regulation. The practice runs wild and no discrimination is made between a prohibition which is wise and preventive of harm and a prohibition which can only hamper normal life and activity. At even a much later day it was exceedingly difficult for the Jewish people to see the difference between a ceremonial prohibition and one which involved moral and social issues. Jesus' relation to the Jewish Sabbath is a case in point. He broke through the merely ceremonial taboos which made the day a burden and, by declaring that the Sabbath was made for man, directed attention to the underlying social and helpful purposes to which the day should be dedicated. Let us note, however, that the idea of the sacred and the holy, things which should not be profaned, existed in the earliest forms of religion. It is an idea which only needed elevation and reasonable direction to be fitted to function in the highest forms of religion. We shall never reach the point where recognition of what is sacred and holy, in human life and in relationship with God, must not be counted upon to protect life from the irreverence which would debase it.

ANIMISTIC WORSHIP

Up to the present we have been dealing largely with belief, what the savage thinks about the world in which he lives, the spirits which are everywhere, and about himself and his fellows. He has his theories, and they effectively control his life and its relationships. But he acts as well as thinks; he doubtless acts before he thinks; to him an act is more important than the thought he has about it. Students of the early forms of religion are indebted to Professor W. Robertson Smith for pointing out that ritual precedes belief, that the reaction of a savage to his environment is first of all emotional, an act, a dance, a ceremonial, and only latterly an intellectual thing, a belief or a conception. It is far more a matter of his feet and hands than of his head. So in discussing the worship of the animistic peoples we are entering into the very citadel of their religious life, into that which to them *is* religion itself.

The motive which actuates his worship—is it fear or faith? Does he have confidence in the spirits with which he deals or is he afraid that they may do him injury unless he does something to propitiate them or ward them off? We have already seen that the savage knows of beneficent spirits who bring him the good things he has, but this is a very little part of the story. His mind is occupied, rather, with the thousand evil-minded spirits, the imps and demons, who would crush him if they could, and are constantly seeking opportunity to do so. Many witnesses are forthcoming to tell of their experience among savage peoples, an experience of deep pity as they have witnessed the dread and terror which fill their minds. We choose but one of these testimonies, that of J. H. Weeks, who spent fifteen years among the Boloki of the Upper Congo. He tells us: "Their system of belief has its basis in their fear of those numerous invisible spirits—invisible to the ordinary man, but not to the medicine man—which are constantly trying to compass their sickness, misfortune, and death; and the Boloki's sole object—and the same may be written of his near and distant neighbors on the Congo—is to cajole or appease, to cheat or conquer, and even destroy the troublesome spirits; hence their witch doctors with their fetishes, their rites, and ceremonies. If there were no spirits to be circumvented, there would be no need of medicine men as middlemen, and no need of fetishes as mediums for getting into touch with the spirits."¹⁸

It is no beautiful picture which confronts us when we penetrate into the inner life of the savage peoples of the world, and only distance makes possible a certain enchantment as the "simple, rustic life" of a primitive tribe is described by the traveler, who fails to penetrate the dark recesses "at the back of the black man's mind." One further quotation is needed to complete the picture and relieve the strain. After a description of the dread which is present in the minds of the Bantu peoples of Africa, we read again, "However, it would be no

¹⁸ *Among Congo Cannibals*, p. 259.

doubt a great mistake to imagine that the minds of the Bantu, or, indeed, of any savages, are perpetually occupied by a dread of evil spirits; the savage and, indeed, the civilized man is incapable, at least in his normal state, of such excessive preoccupation with a single idea, which, if prolonged, could hardly fail to end in insanity."¹⁹ We undoubtedly have in this attitude of fear on the part of the savage the best explanation of his backward state. Nobility of character and the development of society never spring from the disorganizing motive of fear. To develop the possibilities in man and to organize his life in ever higher forms of social intercourse require a basis of trust and confidence—trust and confidence in one another, and even more fundamentally in the spirits and powers on whom they are dependent. And these things cannot be found in developed form in savage life and religion—only the beginnings are there.

Sacrifice must be taken up first in the presentation of worship; indeed, in early religion the two are almost synonymous. To come directly to the objects which are offered in sacrifice, the general statement may be made that they are the things which man himself needs or desires for his nourishment and comfort and pleasure. Here is analogy at work again; the spirits are sufficiently like men to need what they need and like what they like. So food and drink, clothing and utensils constitute the body of sacrifice the world over. Analogy has even gone further and demanded the sacrifice of human beings—slaves, servants, children, wives—to satisfy the beings who surely must need these things as men do. A certain value must always attach to the object offered, or it is not efficacious. Life is the most precious thing in the world, and this recognition has led to the taking of life in sacrifice and offering it to the higher powers. This led very early and widely to the offering of human life, and the custom continued until the sensibilities of men turned against such inhumanity with horror and animals were substituted for human beings. But even today the practice prevails in places and is with difficulty rooted out by

¹⁹ *Folklore*, xx, 1909, pp. 51f.

civilized governments which have made themselves responsible for the conduct of savage tribes. The story of the sacrifice of Isaac in the book of Genesis is an illuminating account of the transition from human sacrifice to the acceptance of an animal substitute. The letting of blood has been a feature of sacrifice from the earliest day, the idea being everywhere present that in some very real fashion "the life is the blood," and so to sacrifice by the effusion of blood is to be sure that the life itself has been offered to the power before whom one stands.

"The head of the animal or man may be cut off (and custom often requires that a single blow shall suffice), its spine broken or its heart torn out; it may be stoned, beaten to death or shot, torn in pieces, drowned or buried, burned to death or hung, thrown down a precipice, strangled or squeezed to death. The sacrifices may aim at causing a speedy death or a slow one. The corpse may be burned, in part or as a whole; portions may be assigned to the priest, the sacrificer, and the gods; the skull, bones, etc., may receive special treatment; the fat or blood may be set aside, and they or the ashes may be singled out as the share of the god, to be offered upon the altar; the skin of the victim may be employed as a covering for idol or material representative of the god, either permanently or till the next animal sacrifice. The blood of the victim may be drunk by the priest as a means of inducing inspiration, its entrails may be employed in divination, its flesh consumed in a common meal, exposed to the birds and beasts of prey, or buried in the earth"²⁰—so varied are the usages in the practice of sacrifice in different parts of the world.

To placate an angry god is one idea lying back of sacrifice everywhere. It is not the only purpose, but it prevails as widely as sacrifice is found. He may be rendered propitious by gifts or bought off by the bounty which is spread before him. In the dire straits to which he is often reduced the savage is willing to do anything to secure immunity from disease or security from any one of a hundred dangers which surround him. But

²⁰ N. W. Thomas, article. "Sacrifice," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edit.

he has another purpose in many of his sacrifices. He is conscious, or the group is, that the god is displeased because of something wrong that has been done. A taboo has been broken or a custom has been infringed, and the god must be propitiated; he must be rendered friendly again. Again a sacrifice is offered by way of atoning for the wrong done. An animal may be killed or burned, the sins may be laid on a scapegoat and the animal sent out into the wilderness bearing away the guilt of the people (see Leviticus 16. 5-10, 20-22). The guilt is acknowledged and the right of the god to punish is recognized. The god is willing to accept a substitute in an animal slain, and thus the idea of the vicariousness of suffering and punishment is established. These conceptions come to their fruition only in the higher religions where the sense of sin has become clear and poignant, but the ideas themselves root back into the earlier forms when men began to feel a sense of responsibility to higher powers.

The attempt to discover the earliest form of sacrifice, that out of which all the other forms have developed, has proved futile. Without doubt sacrifice does not hark back to any one single form. The attempt has been made to carry back every form to the eating of the totem animal by the totem clan, where it is claimed that the animal is eaten in common by the god and his people, thus establishing a more enduring friendship between them. This theory was based on the claim that all peoples have passed through the totemic stage, a claim that cannot be maintained. Besides, this sacrifice may not be real communion at all; it may be a meal which is significant because some of the desired qualities of the sacred animal may pass into the eater. Sacrifices are made to ancestors to provide them with needed articles or the consolations of human companionship in the world to which they have gone. Human sacrifice may have originated in this way. Some of the bloody holocausts which have been offered in Africa within recent years have been immediately after the death of a great chief.

Closely connected with sacrifice is prayer. It may be that the earliest prayer was a call to the spirits to come and partake

of the sacrifice which had been offered. It is always the expression of a desire, the making of a request that this or that may or may not take place. It is the instinctive utterance of the human heart when in distress or threatened by some danger. It is usually offered in time of need when supernatural help must be called in to save a situation otherwise hopeless. The prayer of savages never rises higher than purely material needs and desires. This being true, savage prayer never reaches up to the level where prayer is looked upon as communion with God, and where this is considered the very essence of the exercise. The chief danger in prayer is that it may revert to a spell or incantation, the value of which lies in the mere repetition of the words. Whether we understand their meaning or not makes no difference; there is potency in the words, and they will bring the desired end by being uttered. So far is this carried that "spell-narratives" about the gods are told, the belief being that even talking about a thing makes it happen. Should the worshiper know the name of his god, he has in his possession a wonderful lever to bring to pass what he desires. The name is looked upon as a part of the personality, and to be able to use the name to re-enforce a request is to be far more sure of receiving the boon than would otherwise be true. Widely extended is the belief in the necessity of cleanness in approaching the spirits to be propitiated. The purifications at times are really cleansing so far as the body is concerned. The hands, the feet, the mouth, and frequently the whole body must be pure to come acceptably into the presence of the higher powers. But as in so much in savage life reason does not give direction where it is seriously needed. Uncleanliness is connected closely with the idea of taboo and is incurred by contact with ceremonially dangerous and sacred things, like corpses, newly born infants, blood, and a hundred other things. To us the "purification" seems in many cases as defiling as the uncleanness itself. The chemical purity of the cleansing agent has nothing to do with its efficacy. The most disgusting things are considered highly purifying and are believed in implicitly, even in religions advanced far beyond that of the people we are

studying. Only at a comparatively late stage did the idea of moral defilement arise and seem more terrible than ceremonial uncleanness. Then the outward act of purification became a symbol of the inner cleansing from the defilement of sin.

Early in the history of religion a class of men arose known as priests, medicine men, witch doctors, shamans, exorcists, and mediums. We shall use the word "priest" as the name of this class. They are the members of the community through whom communication is had with the supernatural. The essential and distinguishing characteristic of the priest in the entire history of religion is that of mediator between men and the powers on whom they are dependent. Even in ancestor worship the father and the clan heads perform the function of priests. Not anyone could be a priest. He must demonstrate his ability to hold intercourse with the gods. This he does by conduct which very evidently is intoxication or ecstasy or epileptic seizures, but which to the savage clearly indicates that his personality is in the possession of some spirit other than his own. The ejaculations and groans and incoherent utterances, which to us are of no significance, are to him full of meaning, only needing the interpretation of the priest himself to be seen in their true light as a divine message. Women also act as priests and sorcerers, performing all the functions which men perform. They too are endowed with strange, mysterious powers, often to a far greater degree than men. The office frequently becomes hereditary in certain families; and when that point is reached, the priesthood is a permanent institution and tends to secure an ever stronger hold upon the people. These go-betweens and experts in ritual become more indispensable as the ritual is elaborated and access to the gods is thought to be possible only through definite channels of communication.

There are two other sides of the relation of these mediators to society which must be noted. What has been said might imply that the effect of their services is beneficial, and so it often is. But there is another, a dark and terrible side to the shield. Particularly as witch doctors they prey upon the community and spread dreadful woe and terror. It is they who

"smell out" the men and women who are supposed to have caused trouble to the tribe or brought death into a family. Thousands of innocent people have been done to death because the evil deed was fixed upon them by the witch doctor or the medicine man. So abject is their belief in and subservience to these harpies that there is no protestation; they go to their death with no thought of resistance even when entirely innocent. The other function, on which entirely too little emphasis has been placed, is that of the wise man and seer. This has been brought out particularly by Professor Paul Radin in several recent volumes.²¹ In many cases these men who are set apart and thus lead a different life from others are responsible for the thought life—such as it is—in primitive society. It is they who are the thinkers, the developers of the ritual, the repositories of the sacred lore, the men who peer out and see what the ordinary man does not see at all. It is they who, according to Professor Radin, made the All-Fathers significant. Even at these low levels they hear more than their fellows and see farther. So it is said, and it may or may not be true. We are certainly in need of more light.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

Magic is one thing to us and another to the savage. We look back upon it after it has shown itself to be what it really is, after the distinction between magic and religion has been made clear. Religion for us expresses itself in worship of higher powers. The attitude is one of dependence, coming into the presence of God in humility to thank him for his goodness and to make request for certain good things after which we crave. Magic, on the other hand, means to us a very different attitude. Instead of seeking our desires by humble entreaty the attitude in magic is that of self-sufficiency, as though there were another method of securing our ends without recourse to petition. We ourselves possess the good-luck talisman, we know what will charm away the sickness, we can by doing this

²¹ Notably in *Primitive Man as Philosopher*, 1927, and *Primitive Religion*, 1937.

or that, by "knowing the trick," bring good fortune and accomplish our wish. A hundred examples could soon be collected from the practice of men and women in our own communities by which they believe certain things can be brought about or prevented by magic. The attitude is entirely different from that of true religion. In one case we trust God; in the other we trust some contrivance or spell or charm. In one case we secure our aims by making a request; in the other we secure them by coercion. In one case we seek; in the other we demand. The two attitudes are not always kept apart. Even among Christians there is the constant danger that prayer, to use one illustration, may be looked upon as meritorious in itself and as efficacious in its very performance, as though we might secure the desired object because we went through the act of praying.

But to the savage in the darkness of his mind such a distinction as we have just made is out of the question. (He is in trouble and confusion before the dangers and uncertainties of life. At his wits' end, he is willing to do anything to get relief and secure what he so much desires. Animism is the background of all his thinking about the universe.) Some kind of *mana*, or spiritual influence, is everywhere, and whatever he does or gets must be done through spiritual agency. In the use of these spiritual agencies he is led into one or the other or both of two methods. He is in fear of the spirits who can do him injury; he must placate them by offerings and make request of them by prayer; and we call this religion. But this is not all he can do. He has discovered that by doing certain things results follow which are what he wants. He can hit two stones together and produce a spark. He believes that helpful influences can be evoked by what he may *do*, and around this belief and the coincidences which he has noted he has built up what might almost be called a science of cause and effect. Only the absence of any notion of natural law prevents us from giving these words their full meaning as we use them now. All that is effected is to him the result of living spirits. This

being the case, we cannot expect him to see the difference between what he does when he sacrifices and prays and what he does when he shouts some "Open Sesame" and expects the rock to roll away for him. He does not think much about it at all; he finds that it works; he knows that the all-pervasive *mana* or some spirit is accountable for it, and that is enough for him.

This discovery that by doing one thing another thing happens leads him into an elaborate system of acts which are based on several simple and to him most obvious conclusions. He believes implicitly that things which were once connected and had some relationship with each other continue to have the same relationship even though they may be separated by a long distance. A coat which was once owned by some man still has some connection with him even though he has discarded it or given it away to another. If, then, you desire to do something to the original owner you may find the coat a convenient medium. By tearing or burning it a most uncomfortable experience may be caused the man to whom it belonged. Especially is this true of the hair and nails, which are so much closer to him than his coat. Great care is exercised in many places among savages to bury all these cuttings and parings so that an enemy may not do him injury by taking advantage of the possession of a part of him which still is considered as intimately connected with his body and its welfare. This is called contagious magic, and finds a thousand applications in the world of the animist.

Then, again, the savage is unable to get away from the feeling that like produces like. If this be true, a result can be attained by imitating it. A rain-maker in one of the islands in Torres Straits painted the front of his body white and the back black. The explanation was that "all along same as clouds—black behind, white he go first."²² This is called mimetic or homeopathic magic. Then, too, names and certain words have magical power, and the same is true of talis-

²² Quoted by A. C. Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism*, p. 17.

mans and amulets, which can bring to pass what may be desired or ward off impending danger.

Professor Frazer claims that magic and religion are like oil and water and will not mix. He holds that man started with magic and, because this method did not bring him the fulfillment of his desires, he was compelled to leave it and try religion. One very heavy count against this theory is that we find the two methods intermingling in the life of savages in all places and at all times. Both seem to have existed from the beginning and to have developed side by side. The only distinction made by the savage himself is that between his use of the spiritual or demonic influences for his own private advantage, which may involve injury or loss to his neighbor, and that use of these influences which is for the public good. It is a very real distinction to him, and he condemns and punishes the dealer in the nefarious traffic with little mercy. On the basis of this distinction, which is the only one the savage is capable of making, there are those who would say that fundamentally religion and magic are the same, the only difference being that religion is social and magic unsocial or antisocial. It is not a matter of method or attitude toward the spiritual world, but only of purpose. Undoubtedly this difference is real, but, when the same act may be social under certain conditions and antisocial under others,²³ it is quite clear that some other clue is necessary to an understanding of the essential difference between them. This clue we find in the distinction we make when from our superior vantage point we are able to see what the savage cannot see—that there is a difference in attitude between magic and religion which separates the two fundamentally.

When, in the form of fetishism already mentioned, the savage gives himself to coaxing and compelling his fetish to do his bidding, the debasing character of the practice is evident. Only because he may be able to look on some other of his spirits, not as "gods at his disposal," but as powers to be feared

²³ See discussion by Hartland in *Ritual and Belief*, pp. 26-160.

and supplicated, is there any possibility of advance into higher forms of religious faith. Unknown to him the struggle between magic and religion has begun, and only by the gradual ascendancy of the true spirit of religion has man attained the higher reaches of religious experience. And today we find ourselves in the same conflict, the difference being that, knowing its danger, we may set ourselves consciously and deliberately to trample magic underfoot and raise religion to its exclusive place in our lives as we come into the presence of God.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion* (New York, 1914).
 Edwin Sidney Hartland, *Ritual and Belief* (New York, 1914).
 A very thorough treatment of Religion and Magic.
 Edward Clodd, *Animism* (London, 1905).
 Alfred C. Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism* (London, 1910).
 Crawford Howell Toy, *Introduction to the History of Religions* (Boston, 1913). An encyclopedic work, to be used for reference.
 J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*. In One Volume (New York, 1922). A monumental work now available in convenient form.
 Edwin W. Smith, *The Religion of the Lower Races, as Illustrated by the African Bantu* (New York, 1923). A short but valuable manual.
 Paul Radin, *Primitive Man as Philosopher* (New York, 1927).
 Paul Radin, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1937). A brilliant volume, to be read with caution.
 Alexander LeRoy, *The Religion of the Primitives* (New York, 1922). Written by a Roman Catholic Bishop, a deep student of African religion.
 Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924). The work of an American anthropologist.

CHAPTER IV

EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA

THE NILE VALLEY AND ITS INHABITANTS

ALL the national religions have their roots in the animistic cults studied in the previous chapter. While many tribes scattered over the world have remained in the tribal form of organization and the corresponding animistic forms of religious life, other peoples have left these crude beginnings behind and have become nations and started out on the long journey toward an advanced culture and civilization. The earliest centers of such development of which we have any knowledge are Egypt, Mesopotamia, and China. In each case the development started on the banks of a river—the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Yellow River—and in each case the earliest beginnings are hidden from our view, so far back do they lie before history and chronology had begun to be put down in permanent records. Of these three ancient peoples only China has been able to maintain itself as a distinct and separate culture through the millenniums. The early civilization and religion of the Nile and the Euphrates have long since disappeared, and only the spade of the archaeologist is able to recover precious bits of information which would otherwise be entirely unknown. The ancient religion of China continues to exist, changed, to be sure, but of immense influence in the China of today; but the faiths, dead and gone forever, of Egypt and Mesopotamia—why should we spend time in attempting to understand them in this fast-moving modern world? One might make out a case for the study of these religions, as well as those of Greece and Rome, on the ground of sheer interest in what men have believed and practiced in an age different from our own. But there may be another motive besides the antiquarian which will lead us to study these ancient religions. While these faiths have forever passed away as formal religions that which made

them live and which gave satisfaction to the people who worshipped the old divinities cannot be quenched. That which really was alive in them did not die. Other manifestations of the same living reality begin to appear as religions change; they are the same reality seeking higher forms. As religions they may die, but all the true religion they contained keeps on living.

"Egypt is a gift of the Nile," said Herodotus in the fifth century before Christ. It is the truest thing that could be said of this narrow ribbon of a country, which is little more than the banks of this wonderful river. There is first the river itself, which flows from the strange, unknown lands of the far south and, after winding itself northward through a thousand miles and more, spreads out into the famous delta and empties into the Mediterranean through a number of mouths. The land is low for some distance on either side of the stream, and this is the real Egypt. Extending beyond this fertile strip is higher ground, which in turn reaches out to the high walls of the valley, beyond which stretches away on both sides the blazing, howling desert.

With almost no rain the country must depend on the Nile for its productivity. Every year the river rises above its banks and overflows the low-lying strip on each side. This is the secret of the fertility of Egypt. Not only is the ground thoroughly soaked but a thin layer of alluvium is brought down and deposited over the fields, thus replenishing the constantly worked soil. But there are many sections which are not reached by the inundation, and they must be irrigated by artificial means. This means canals and embankments and sluice gates and the whole paraphernalia of irrigation. The importance of these facts for our immediate consideration is that this economic need made necessary common labor organized to make the best use of the water supply, and with this development a parallel growth of political organization. This necessity for organized toil marks the beginning of culture and civilization. He was a savage like those who surrounded him when he began, but in a short time the Egyptian begins to

take a place in advance, and after a time he is living in a different world; he has developed a national life and is no longer a savage with savage tastes and outlook.

It must also be noted that the development took place during long centuries separated from contact with other peoples and cultures. This, of course, is a relative statement, for there was contact with the Semites to the east at several periods during her long history, but Egypt was isolated during the formative period of her life. This enables us to study the religion of the country as the unique product of her genius, untouched by influences which might have turned it into very different channels.

The people of ancient Egypt were in all probability a mixture of African tribes, called by many Hamitic, and Semites, who at a very early age, long before the opening of its recorded history, came over from Arabia, fused with the natives, and formed the Egyptian type as we know it even in our own time. The Egyptian countryman, the *fellahin*, who greets you as you set foot in Egypt today, is the same man who gazes out at you from the oldest monuments his land contains. The Semites came in as conquerors, who in turn were compelled to adopt the higher civilization of the natives, who had already made some advance in subduing the land and harnessing the Nile to the uses of agriculture. All we can be relatively sure of is that this people, now amalgamated into one, far back between 5000 and 4000 B. C. had settled down on both banks of the river, organized in little principalities, which later were given the Greek name of "nomes." There were more than forty of these small states, about equally divided between the Delta region, or Lower Egypt, and the long, narrow valley reaching into the south, called Upper Egypt. Each of these had its chief town or city in which dwelt the ruler and in which also the chief god of the nome had his seat. Through all the changes and vicissitudes of Egyptian history these nomes persisted and exerted an influence on the civilization and religion of the land.

The Egyptian has always been intensely religious. This is

one of the surest indications we meet in a study of the earliest monuments erected by this gifted people. It was of a unique type, as we shall see, but it was genuine and deep. He was conservative beyond most people who have ever lived. Somehow he never felt he could lay aside anything he had ever picked up or discovered. He kept trailing along after him all the lumber which should have been discarded, as though he might suffer if he let go a single thing he had ever practiced or believed. Thus at the end we may study not only what the Egyptian thought then but all he had ever believed in the millenniums of his history—in fact, it all continued to be his belief still. Professor George Foot Moore sums it all up in a pregnant sentence: "The Egyptians of later ages could learn but not forget—the most fatal of all disqualifications for progress."¹

This people were singularly lacking in philosophic power. They seemed incapable of abstract thinking—it must all be in the realm of the concrete, of visible symbols. The priests of Heliopolis and Thebes did work out a theology, but it was not in conformity with any well-knit philosophy. The Egyptian seemed always to be able to hold the most contradictory views at the same time with no sense of incongruity. What would have been abhorrent to the Greek seemed perfectly natural to the Egyptian. He wanted to see things clearly; he was not willing to leave much to the imagination. His art consisted of clear line-drawings without perspective, depth, or mystic hazy background. His writing consisted of pictures and with difficulty could be made to express the abstract conceptions which even he must sometimes employ. His religion was practical and lacked philosophical and mystical depth.

According to Manetho, "an Egyptian priest who wrote an historical work in Greek,"² the first king of united Egypt was Menes, who reigned some time before 3000 B. C. But even before the time of this first king we have reason to believe that Egypt was divided into two kingdoms—those of Upper and Lower Egypt, and that eventually Lower, or northern

¹ *History of Religions*, Vol. I, p. 148.

² Steindorff, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 3.

Egypt, was conquered by the south. Then came Menes from the north and united all Egypt under one sway. The dynasty thus introduced was the first of more than thirty dynasties, extending from the time of Menes to the loss of independence when Egypt was conquered by Alexander the Great in 332 B. C. In fact, the Ptolemies, who ruled from 323 to 30 B. C., are listed by some as the XXXIII dynasty. After this Egypt became a Roman province. During this long period Egypt passed through all the experiences from the most exalted culture and prosperity, when foreign conquest added distant lands to her sway, to the humiliation of internal decay and outward defeat, when her borders were overrun by alien armies and her government was in the hands of princes appointed from far-away Mesopotamia. We cannot enter further into the fascinating details of this history. But we may call attention to the fact that the political history and the history of the religion experienced their periods of development and decay simultaneously, one reacting on the other, religion and state being but different phases of a common culture from the beginning to the end of the story of this people.

THE EGYPTIAN PANTHEON

The nomes, or little principalities, of Egypt, each with its central town and its prince, had each a chief god of its own. These gods may all in the beginning have been without names. The monuments refer to several local divinities merely by the names of the nomes to which they belonged, "he of Edfu" and "the lady of Elkab" being designations of the supreme divine beings of those cities. But names must very soon have been attached. They were originally different, but very early the same name is to be found in several places. This arose, it may be, by one name being carried by war to another nome, for, while the Egyptians were more peace-loving than their contemporaries in Mesopotamia, these little principalities were frequently in conflict with one another. Or, perhaps, the god of one nome appeared even beyond his own borders to be specially powerful and able to bring good to his people, so he was adopted

by another nome and his name was added to the name of the god there. Another early tendency is also to be noted; the gods of some of the nomes who originally had doubtless been merely the protecting divinity of their own people, began to take on a deeper and wider significance. Amen, the god of Thebes, came to be regarded not only as the local divinity of that place but in a more general way as the god of fertility and generation. This would lead naturally to an expansion of the sphere of influence of this god, and so it was with others.

The various heavenly bodies, the River Nile, their kings, trees, and even piles of stones, were looked upon as divine and received worship. But the gods of the Egyptians were to a larger extent animals than anything else. This is one of the peculiarities of the religion, and struck the people of Greece and Rome as being as strange as it does us. The pagan Celsus is quoted by Origen as saying, "If a stranger reaches Egypt, he is struck by the splendid temples and sacred groves that he sees, great and magnificent courts, marvelous temples with pleasant walks about them, imposing and occult ceremonies; but when he had entered into the innermost sanctuary, he finds the god worshiped in these buildings to be a cat, or an ape, or a crocodile, or a he goat, or a dog."³ During these latter days the Egyptian religion was decadent, and exhibited this tendency toward animal worship even more exuberantly than in an earlier and more healthy period of its history. When the Romans were masters of the country, one of the legionaries "who had accidentally killed a cat was torn to pieces by the mob. . . . For the majority of the people the cat was an incarnate god."⁴ Thoth, the god of Hermopolis, was either a baboon or an ibis; the god of the district of the first cataract, whose name was Khnum, was a he-goat, and Apis, the god of Memphis, was a bull. There was no bird or animal or creeping thing or beetle or fish or frog which did not take its place in the pantheon of the Egyptians. Animal worship is to be found in many other

³ See Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 181.

⁴ Sayce, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, p. 101.

places, but nowhere did it assume such proportions and dominate the thinking of the people as in Egypt.

The problem of the origin of this animal worship is as yet unsolved. The temptation is strong to claim that it is based on an early totemistic organization, the animals later worshiped being the totems of various clans in the far-off prehistoric age. The chief difficulty with this theory is that not one shred of evidence is forthcoming that the Egyptians believed that animals were the ancestors of men or even that any intimate relationship existed between them. Such a belief may have been held at one time, but it had been so completely lost that no vestige of it remained even in the most ancient times of which we have any information. It is doubtless better for us to disclaim any certain knowledge. What we do know is that there was something about animals and their actions which made a strong appeal to the superstitious fears of the people and led them to treat them as divine.

After a time many of their gods began to be humanized, so early that we do not know them in any other guise. The worship of an animal as an animal ceased to satisfy as culture increased; a god must be more like a man to be worthy of worship. It has been asserted that even when they were in animal form they were thought of more as human beings than as animals. The first step taken was to represent the gods with human bodies but with animal heads. Khnum is represented as a man with a ram's head, Hekt as a woman with the head of a frog, Sekhmet, the wife of Ptah, is the lioness-headed woman, over whose head is represented the solar disk, crowned with the poisonous uraeus-serpent. This device is also to be found in connection with other divinities. Finally some of the gods became complete human beings, head and all, but the man or woman god was often given some symbol to indicate a connection with the animal which it originally was. Hathor, for example, is a full-fledged woman with a cow's horns on her head. Amen-Ra is a man holding in one hand a scepter and in the other the keylike symbol of life and having his head crowned in several ways in different places, either with the

sun's disk and two long feathers or with a pair of ram's horns. But even in the later day the conservatism of the Egyptian is seen in his inability to drop the animal conception. It is after Christianity had begun to do its work in Egypt that the condition described by Celsus obtained in all parts of the country. The Egyptian could not get away from his old crude conceptions despite his advance in culture and refinement.

At Heliopolis in the days of the Middle Kingdom (from about 2000 to 1790 B. C.) the priestly thinkers constructed a theology in which their god, the sun god Ra, was placed in a position of supremacy above all the gods of the land. So powerful was the influence of this priesthood and so highly favored by the rulers that their theology spread far and wide until for the first time all Egypt, officially at least, came to recognize Ra as the chief god of the whole country. It was a movement toward monotheism, but it did not reach it; it was not sufficiently exclusive to rule out the presence and influence of other gods who were looked upon as helpers of the one supreme god Ra. One of the results of the exaltation of Ra was that many other gods were assimilated to him, that is, they were fused or identified with him in name and in attribute, and thus a new conception of a god came into existence. The other priesthoods did not want their gods to be lost, so they joined their names with that of Ra and declared that Ra was their god too, only it was the Ra who had been united with the original god of their temple. So we find such hyphenates as Ra-Horus, Ra-Amen, and many others. Only a few of the old gods, like Osiris, Ptah, and Thoth, were able to preserve their distinct identity, so strong was the influence exerted by the priests of Heliopolis and their theology.

Here is the work of priests seeking to register in theology what practically had come to be the position of their god in the unified empire. But the priests in various cities went further than this. They constructed triads of gods, grouping them as father, mother, and son. At Thebes we find Amen the father, Mut the mother, and Montu the son; at Memphis it was Ptah, Sekhmet, and Imhetep; and again at Abydos Osiris, Isis, and

Horus. In the stories told of these trios the son inherits his father's authority and becomes his mother's husband. The mother does not die, not being connected with the sun as the husband and son are. Like the sun, which after the day's work sinks to rest beyond the western horizon, all the divine beings connected with him have the same kind of mortality and must look forward to an eclipse or death at the end of their journey.

Even more artificial combinations were worked out by the priests in various temples. They were not satisfied with triads but went further and constructed enneads, or groups of nine gods. The idea of a group of three was still present, but now it was a multiple of three and not the original simple triad. At Heliopolis and in a few other places two enneads were gathered together, a greater and a lesser. These combinations were the work of men who were not content to see their pantheon in confusion with no order or classification of the deities. They wanted to explain the origin and relationship of the gods, and did so by placing their great god at the apex of the ennead and the others as derived from him in a descending series of ranks. It is a clumsy and artificial construction on the part of priests, who were not able to drop any gods from their list, and who tried thus to bring some kind of unity out of the disorder. Another development grew out of the subordination of many gods to the sun god Ra. It was a kind of solar pantheism. The sun, and only the sun, exists and constitutes the universe. All else is appearance, the manifestation of the supreme and all-embracing sun. This too was a priestly formulation. It represents rather a tendency than a finished and widely accepted belief. The people went on in their own way worshiping their local gods, animals and trees, and other spirits, little influenced by the colleges of priests in the great centers of official religion.

Of all the many gods and goddesses of Egypt several stand out as especially important. We have already mentioned Ra, the sun god of Heliopolis. He is represented as a man with the head of a falcon over which is seen the solar-disc and the uraeus-serpent. He "represents the sun in the fullness of his

strength."⁵ This is the most frequent form of the sun god. From the beginning to the end of the history of Egyptian religion Ra is powerful and even dominant. His only rival is Osiris, who is represented as a man with a beard, bound around with the clothes used in mummification but with his two hands sufficiently free to hold a shepherd's crook and a whip, both of them scepters indicating the possession of authority. As we shall see later, Osiris is the ruler of the dead, the supreme god of all that concerns the hereafter. At this time, however, attention is called to this god because of his importance in the pantheon. At first he seems to have been looked upon as the personification of natural phenomena, notably the Nile; "his continually repeated death and resurrection were manifested by the Nile as it yearly dwindled and swelled again to inundation, spreading over the fields its fertilizing mud. From this soil sprang the luxuriant crops and vegetation, and these too typified the dying and reviving god."⁶ His influence grew and other deities passed under his influence. He came to be regarded as a prehistoric king of Egypt. He was murdered by his wicked brother Seth. The myth is told more fully a little later in this chapter, where not only his death but his coming to life again are shown in their tremendous influence in Egyptian life. Osiris grew in influence until he held an increasingly dominant place in Egypt—he seemed to fit in perfectly with the ineradicable bent of the Egyptian mind to think of death and the hereafter. Another god of the first importance, already mentioned, is Amen, the presiding divinity at Thebes, far up the Nile from Heliopolis where Ra was all-powerful. He is represented either as a he-goat or as a bearded man having a cap to which are attached two tall plumes. From the Eighteenth Dynasty onward, as Amen-Ra, he is the national god of Egypt. There are other important divinities, too numerous to characterize here, but those mentioned will give direction to our thought about this religion better than any others.

In the New Kingdom the capital was Thebes, and Amen

⁵ A. W. Shorter, *The Egyptian Gods*, p. 138.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

was the national god of Egypt. Only one or two gods, like Ptah of Memphis and Ra of Heliopolis, could retain a measure of their old prestige. Then came Amenhotep IV, king of Egypt from 1375 to 1358 B. C. Educated with the priests of Heliopolis, this young prince was deeply religious. He reached the conviction that the sun-god possessed the right to universal worship, and he sought to convert his conviction into practice. He attempted to discredit all the other gods and put the sun-god in their place. It was a movement toward monotheism. It was the sun, Aten, the solar disk, closely related to Ra, which was to be the object of devotion. Aten "had not, like Ra, been fused with terrestrial gods of various beastly shapes nor represented in human form, and by its freedom from such associations his name was a fit symbol for god in a purer solar monotheism."⁷ Aten was made the one national deity; all were required to serve this god alone. The statues of the other gods were to be destroyed and their names forgotten. Nothing was left undone to obliterate every vestige of their memory. The king changed his name from Amenhotep ("Amen is content") to Ikhnaten ("Spirit of Aten") and moved his capital away from Thebes. He founded a new city nearly three hundred miles to the north and called it Akhetaten ("Horizon of Aten"). Here he built wonderful temples and public buildings. He ordered that temples to Aten be erected in various parts of his far-flung empire, which extended from the Euphrates in the north to Nubia far to the south. These temples were different from other Egyptian temples. There was no image of the god as in the others. Aten was pictured as a disc, representing the sun in the sky, from which long rays extended, at the end of each of which was a human hand, hands of blessing offering to men the bounty of the beneficent sun. Nothing like it had ever been known in Egypt. In the mind of the king Aten was a very jealous god; the attempt was made to wipe out every other form of worship. Especially was the reforming zeal of the king directed against Amen, who

⁷ G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. I, p. 182.

as the recognized national god was more of a rival than any other.

Let us look at this king, Amenhotep IV, who called himself the very "Spirit of Aten" (Ikhnaten). He was a very young man; his reign covered about seventeen years, and he probably died before he was thirty. He has been called the "great idealist," the "great reformer," the "world's first revolutionist," the "first individual in human history." There is, of course, some reason for this, but there is another side. The summary which Dr. Ernest Budge furnishes must be quoted: "The facts known about the life and reign of Aakhunaten seem to me to prove that from first to last he was a religious fanatic, intolerant, arrogant and obstinate, but earnest and sincere in his seeking after God and in his attempts to make Aten the national god of Egypt."⁸ Dr. Elliott Smith examined the skeleton supposed to be that of the young king and says of it, "The cranium, however, exhibits in an unmistakable manner the distortion characteristic of a condition of hydrocephalus."⁹ He was never a vigorous king politically and his great kingdom developed serious weakness during his reign. He gave himself to religion and let other things take care of themselves. A disintegration from which Egypt never recovered began to take place. Amenhotep IV was succeeded by the husband of his eldest daughter. He in turn was succeeded by another son-in-law of Amenhotep IV, the Tutankhamen known by the recent discovery of his sumptuous tomb in the Valley of the Kings. This king took the capital back to Thebes and did all he could to restore the worship of Amen. This restoration was continued by his successor, who attempted to obliterate the name and worship of Aten from the land. So Amen-Ra was avenged; the reform had failed.

In the thousand and more years which followed this attempted reform on the part of Amenhotep IV Egyptian religion failed to show any signs of originality or significant development. The temples became more wealthy and power-

⁸ *The Gods of the Egyptians*, Vol. I, p. 106.

⁹ Quoted by Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

ful, but the life had departed. It was a state cult, and the common people found little there for them. The old local gods were about all they had to give comfort to the heart and confidence in facing the trials of life. The worship of animals seemed to eat deeper into the religious life. Not only the one animal in the temple was worshiped but the whole species was revered and held in high honor. It would seem that the people were reverting to prehistoric conditions and losing a part of what they had gained during the long course of their history. The influence of Greece was strongly felt under the reign of the successors of Alexander the Great, the Ptolemies, who ruled from 323 to 30 B. C. A new god, Serapis, derived from the ancient Osiris-Apis, with Greek ingredients, became prominent during this period. His worship spread rapidly, until he became the national god. But he could not revive a dying paganism. Accompanied by his wife, the old Egyptian goddess Isis, this new Graeco-Egyptian deity took his journey to make new conquests out across the Mediterranean, and we shall meet him again in Rome in the day when that city was reaching out after a more satisfying religion.

THE INDIVIDUAL HERE AND HEREAFTER

Two unique features distinguish Egyptian religion from all others—the extent to which the worship of animals was carried and the belief in individual immortality which was so dominant in the thinking of the people. It was well-nigh universal. Only a few cynical pessimists were skeptical of a hereafter, and ordered their lives according to the familiar philosophy, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die." The form taken by the belief was determined partly by conditions in Egypt. "The dry and microbe-free climate,"¹⁰ where nothing decays but merely dries up, seemed to suggest the possibility of a kind of physical immortality in which the body might be rendered everlasting and partake of the immortality of the more immaterial parts. Egyptian architecture is above

¹⁰ Article, "Death (Egyptian)," in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

everything else massive, built to stand the ravages of time. The gigantic pyramid tombs of the kings, the ponderous sarcophagi found in all the cemeteries, as well as the temples themselves, suggest permanence. Built out of the hard rock to be found in inexhaustible quantities so near at hand, the ancient monuments have come down to us with little damage through four of five thousand years. But above all else the practice of mummification is evidence of the keen interest of the Egyptian in a continued existence. The idea was that the body must be preserved as necessary to immortality. Theories of the life beyond were held which might be considered inconsistent with the necessity of the preservation of the body, but inconsistencies were of little consequence to an Egyptian, and he kept right on making mummies of the bodies of his dead in sublime indifference to any untoward theories which might stand in his way.

When a man died, professional embalmers would remove the entrails and place them in jars, which were buried. This would prevent the jackals from devouring them and clear the body of the parts which would prevent successful preservation. "The body itself was laid in salt water and treated with bitumen; it was then rolled in bandages and cloths, while the abdominal cavity was also plugged up with linen rolls and cushions."¹¹ Herodotus tells of three methods of treating the body, differing according to cost. The most expensive method included the drawing out of the brain by an iron hook inserted through the nose, great care in disposing of the viscera, and an elaborate and extended treatment of the body before the final wrapping was undertaken. The cheaper processes were much simpler. In all cases the mummy was laid in a coffin of wood or stone. The chests were frequently decorated "with a number of doors intended to afford exit and entrance to the dead man. At the head-end, where the face lay, it was not uncommon to insert a pair of eyes; by the aid of these the deceased was expected to look forth from the coffin and behold the rising sun.

¹¹ Steindorff, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 149.

The inner surfaces were at a later time inscribed with texts relating to the life after death, chapters from the *Pyramid-Texts* and from the *Book of the Dead*; in addition there were pictorial representations of all possible things which the dead man could need in the hereafter."¹² And then it was laid away for safekeeping, for poor people very simply, for the wealthy in elaborate tombs, and for kings in such buildings as the pyramids, which are one of the Seven Wonders of the World. The dead needed the care of their living relatives, so offerings were made at the tomb. In order to secure rest and service in the next world those who had been accustomed to servants were provided with *ushabti*-figures, "answerers," which were little porcelain doll-like images in mummy form, very doubtful in origin and meaning, but provided to work for the dead person.

The Egyptians had worked out an elaborate psychology. To us it seems fantastic, naïve, and very confusing, as it attempts to name and give a distinct character to various phases of the personal life. Besides his body man had an immortal soul, which was composite. There was the *Ka*, whose exact significance is still under discussion. It is described either as a man's double or his guardian spirit with which he was furnished at birth and which was liberated from the body at death. "The *Ka*, which had been the companion of the body in life, at death attained to independent existence. It was to the *Ka* that funerary prayers and offerings were made; to the mummy alone they were useless."¹³ The *Ka* and the mummy could be reunited, it was believed, and the mummy reanimated and a new life lived, but in all cases food and drink must be offered at the tomb. Besides the *Ka* there was the *Ba* (or *Bai*), which may best be described as the soul of the departed man. It is pictured as a bird with human head, which would visit the mummy in the tomb. But this too must be fed and provided with the necessities of life, as though the next life were not essentially different from this.

The abode of the dead was variously pictured by the Egyp-

¹² *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 150f.

¹³ Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 241.

tians. They were not careful to work out a consistent picture, but, true to themselves, were quite willing to accumulate all the ideas which arose and take their pick and make combinations as they might choose. There was the early belief that the dead continued to live in the tomb a life not very different from the life they had lived before. They must eat and drink, and this was furnished by the relatives. What was not provided in this way was to be secured by magical incantations and prayers, these being painted on the coffin or mummy chest as an aid to the memory of the dead. He might at times leave the tomb and wander around, but in doing so it was necessary to be on his guard against ghostly enemies. He might interfere in the affairs of his living relatives, who dreaded his approach and influence. He was not as happy as they and was looked upon as restless and anxious, able by the aid of magic to assume different shapes and thus be a source of terror. Then, again, there was a belief that men—at first it was only kings, but later extended to all—might live a life of bliss among the gods in heaven, accompanying them on their journeys and enjoying their fellowship. To accomplish this a ladder was believed to exist in the west, and up this ladder the dead might climb if peradventure they knew the necessary magical formulae. But even this abode was not entirely unlike the world in which they had previously lived.

Still another conception places the dead in the lower world. Beneath the earth there is another called Twet, through which runs a river like the Nile. Here in long passages and in deep caverns the dead dwell. By night they have the light of the sun, for through the twelve sections into which this subterranean river-course is divided the sun makes his progress, ready to appear at sunrise the next morning in the eastern sky of the real Egypt overhead. The gates separating the twelve sections are guarded by serpents and demons, and the sun-god in his magnificent barge must know their names to secure passage. It was believed at a later time that dead men might share this nightly voyage of the sun, that is, if they were acquainted with the appropriate incantations and magical formulae.

We come lastly to the most important of these conceptions,

that connected with Osiris. And here it becomes necessary to refer to the myth, told in many forms, about Osiris and his relation with the dead. Osiris was one of the ancient divinities of Egypt. He was murdered by Set, who dismembered his body and scattered it over the Delta. The mourning wife, Isis, wanders over the land seeking the body of her husband, while Horus, their son, vows vengeance. In the end Osiris is restored to life and becomes the "King of the Western Folk," presiding over the realm of the dead. They did not know exactly where this realm was, but it became the most exalted of their conceptions of the hereafter. This god had died and was alive again; here lay the significance of the myth and the belief connected with it. Like him men, who knew that death was sure and could not be evaded, might hope to rise again to a new life. The belief expanded and deepened until the idea of the life beyond was that men might become like Osiris; even more than this, that they might become Osiris himself, losing in a real sense their own personal identity. Dead men were considered as identified with him until they were "Osiris so-and-so." This has been given as a reason why the Egyptians never became ancestor-worshippers. The dead relative ceased to be bound to them now that he had become Osiris. No motive remained to offer worship to him as a separate being, and this despite the conditions in Egyptian family life which would otherwise almost surely have led to that reverence and worship which grew up among so many other peoples.

As Osiris in the myth had been declared "just" by the judges before whom he was tried, so every man before entering his realm must come before a similar court. The judge is Osiris himself, and at his side are forty-two terrible creatures before whom confession must be made. The confession is for the most part a statement of the sins one has *not* committed, though some positive good things are mentioned. "I have not done what the gods abominate." "I have not allowed anyone to be hungry." "I have done no murder." "I oppressed no man in possession of his property." So run the items of this confession. But this personal confession is not sufficient; his

heart must be "weighed on a great balance against the symbol of justice." The heart of the man found wanting is devoured by a hippopotamus which stands close by and ready. This is about all we know of the fate of the wicked. The good are conducted into the presence of the king and become residents of the realm. Thus, particularly in the later day, the moral sanction becomes an important feature in the thought of the hereafter, though it must be said that the unfortunate prevalence of magic in all that was connected with death and the condition of the dead was so powerful that the conception of the future was only partially moralized.

THE GODS OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

Three thousand years before Christ a civilization had been developed in the lower Euphrates Valley. Like that of Egypt it was a river civilization. In each case the control of the water supply had made necessary concerted action and political organization. Economic necessity was again responsible for the formation of a number of small city states, each with its prince or king and its chief god. In these respects the civilization in Babylonia was like that of Egypt, but there was a wide divergence whose cause is at once evident by a glance at the map. Egypt was isolated and developed her culture separated from foreign influence. Babylonia, on the other hand, was open on all sides to the incursion of ideas as well as of armies. They might come from the mountains of Elam on the east, the desert on the south and west, and down the long Mesopotamian Valley which reached off toward the northwest. In fact, her history was given direction many times by forces which found their way to Babylonia from each of these sources.

The civilization in this valley traveled northward from the region near the head of the Persian Gulf. There at a very early date a people were to be found called Sumerians. We do not know who they were, though it is quite sure they were different from the Semites with whom they amalgamated at a later time. It is quite likely that they came from the mountains which bounded the plain on the east. At any rate it was they

who founded cities and began to build up a civilization near the mouth of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Ur, Eridu, Uruk, Larsa, and Nippur are the names of a number of these cities. The city with the surrounding territory made up the state. To the north were the Akkadians, Semites related to the desert Arabs, and the Canaanites and Amorites over on the Mediterranean Sea. Wars between these city states were very frequent and deeply influenced the religion as well as other features of the life. It is to be carefully noted that the various political transformations which the land experienced made profound changes in the relationships of the gods of the cities involved. After many vicissitudes the whole of the land was finally united under the mighty King Hammurapi, of the city of Babylon (1958-1916 B. C.). After his time no distinction can be made between the Sumerian and the Akkadian elements of the population; they are now one people with a single language and civilization. It was Hammurapi who gave his people a famous code of laws, which clearly shows him to have been a wise and righteous ruler. For a thousand years after his time Babylon dominated the situation in the world of the two rivers, and even far beyond.

But another power was rising in the north. The city of Asshur on the banks of the Tigris, far away from the alluvial lowlands of Babylonia, had begun to rival the power of her southern neighbor. Finally Babylon was outclassed and the Assyrian empire was the dominant force in western Asia from about 750 to 606 B. C. Babylon was shown no mercy, and the terror of the Assyrian name was carried as far as Egypt. The city of Samaria fell and the northern kingdom of Israel was carried away captive by this relentless power. The chief glory of the empire was the reign of Assurbanipal, who made Nineveh great and left behind him a magnificent library of baked clay tablets in the cuneiform script which in recent years has so enriched our knowledge of the ancient Orient. But Nineveh and the Assyrian Empire were in turn crushed in the year 606 B. C., never again to rise, and their place was taken by the rising power of the new Babylonia, or Chaldea. From that time until

Babylon itself fell into the hands of the Medes and Persians under Cyrus, in 539 B. C., the Chaldean Empire told its short tale. One great ruler, however, made the era noteworthy. Nebuchadnezzar made Babylon the greatest city the world had ever seen, but his work was of little avail so far as permanence was concerned. The empire was weak to its very center and fell a ready prey into the hands of the hardy mountaineers from the northeast.

The religion of the Euphrates Valley had long since passed out of the animistic stage when the little city states appear upon the scene. Yet there is plenty of evidence that everything is built upon an animistic foundation. The people continued to believe in the *Zi*, or spirits, in whom they had believed in the days before any advance had been made in civilization. As the states were in process of formation certain of the spirits of their former belief grew in importance and became gods with personality and distinct attributes. This process was hastened by the political relationships which became more complex as time passed. The god of one city came to exercise influence as far as his city was able to carry its conquests. But even at the end of the process, when the gods had become far more than nature powers, evidences could be found which pointed back to their more humble origin. According to Professor Jastrow, the gods were personifications of the sun and the moon, the power manifesting itself in vegetation, and that of the waters and the storm. Larsa and Sippar had Shamash, the sun-god, Ur and Harran worshiped Sin, the moon-god, Uruk had Ishtar, the mother-goddess, while Eridu had Ea, the water-deity, as its patron, and Enlil, of Nippur, was the "lord of the storm." Professor Robert W. Rogers listed over sixty gods and goddesses gathered together on one tablet, though many of these are duplications. "Nearly every place in early times would have a sun-god or a moon-god or both, and in the political development of the country the moon-god of the conquering city displaced or absorbed the moon-god of the conquered. When we have eliminated these gods, who

have practically disappeared, there remains a comparatively small number of gods who outrank all the others."¹⁴

In an early day the priests in the greater temples began to form triads. The earliest of these was that of Anu, Enlil, and Ea. Anu was the patron divinity of Uruk and was associated with the overarching heavens, Enlil with the earth and the atmosphere immediately above it, and Ea with the waters, those on the earth and those below. Thus this triad is inclusive of the universe as conceived by the thinkers of the time. A second series of three consists of Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar, gods of Babylonia, who did not differ essentially from the Sumerian gods of the first triad mentioned. In this second triad the place of Ishtar was frequently taken by Adad, an Amorite god brought in during the course of their relationship with outlying peoples. Under Hammurapi Babylon became the capital of the empire and Marduk, the patron divinity of the city, the god *par excellence* of the empire. But even this position could only be maintained by a process which transferred to him the power and attributes of Enlil, of Nippur, and Ea, of Eridu. Particularly was this true of Enlil, doubtless because he was looked upon as the venerable patron of the oldest seat of civilization and hence worthy of respect and honor, even when another city was now the seat of far wider authority and influence.

Only one other god could ever vie with Marduk in power, and that was Ashur. He was the god of the Assyrian Empire and, as the recognized head of the pantheon, marched at the head of the armies as they traveled far from the capital carrying destruction and terror all over western Asia and even as far as Egypt. He differed from all the other gods mentioned in that his worship was imageless; he was represented as the disk of the sun from which rays or wings proceeded in all directions. He was of a more spiritual type than the other gods, but this does not seem to have prevented him from being associated with all the cruelty and bloodshed which accom-

¹⁴ *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 79.

panied the destructive march of the armies of Assyria as they ruthlessly destroyed one city after another.

The gods were given consorts or wives, but all we may know of many of them is that they had a name. For the most part they were of little or no significance. But one among them stands out as a power of the first magnitude. It is Ishtar, the goddess of generation and fertility, the goddess of love and sexual relationships. Starting no doubt in the perfectly justifiable veneration of fertility in field and animal and man, and being looked upon as presiding over the increase upon which all life depends, this goddess became the patroness of practices connected with her worship which could only be debasing and demoralizing. It is a dark blot on a religion which at best could never rise out of a not very lofty polytheism and a worship which sadly needed the touch of what was pure and ennobling.

An extensive mythology has come down to us from Babylon. The conflict of Bel or Marduk with the monster Tiamat tells the story of creation in such manner that Marduk is honored and his city, Babylon, is placed before all others, so that it has been called "a great political treatise." But it was religious as well and exercised an influence upon the Biblical account of the creation which is undeniable. In the Bible, however, the gross polytheism has been laid aside and the wonderful prose-poem is made to give honor to the one God Almighty, maker of heaven and earth. There is also the epic of Gilgamesh, the great hero with many exploits to his name, to whom is told the deluge story with features so nearly akin to the story in Genesis that it is impossible not to see a close connection, but here also the Babylonian version revels in gods and their relations with men, thus representing a level far below that occupied by the parallel narrative in Genesis. All this, and much besides, has come down to us from the library of Assurbanipal the Assyrian, causing us to be thankful beyond measure that in so early a day he should have conceived and actually carried into effect the idea of preserving in perma-

ment form the best treasures of a civilization long since dead and otherwise largely unknown.

MAN'S APPROACH TO THE DIVINE POWERS

In Egypt the worship of animals and the views held concerning immortality were noted as unique. Neither of these had any place to speak of in Babylonia and Assyria. Here the approach to the gods by divination and astrology stands out so prominently that it cannot be avoided in any account, however brief, of the religion. Divination was practiced to learn or "divine" the will of the gods sufficiently in advance to be able to prepare for what was coming; in no sense was it to turn the gods from their purpose. Many methods of divination were known. One of them was to drop oil into a basin of water and determine from the manner in which the oil scattered what the future might be. But of all the methods the favorite was that by an examination of a sheep's liver, called *hepatoscopy*. The theory on which it was based was that the gods identified themselves with the animal which was about to be sacrificed. By observing the part of the animal which was considered the seat of life the will of the god himself could be ascertained. Now, among the Babylonians the liver was believed to be the seat of life, probably because so large an amount of blood was to be found in that organ. The function of the heart was not clearly recognized. At a later day, as among the Romans, when the heart had taken the place of the liver as the seat of life, the heart together with the liver was examined in the practice of divination. The liver of the sheep, which has a very diversified surface, was most commonly used. This offered scope for an almost infinite number of combinations of signs, which were worked out into an elaborate system. In this way a pseudo science, much like our modern palmistry and phrenology, was constructed in great detail and with much precision.

Another form of divination was by the observation of the heavenly bodies, or astrology. A co-ordination was supposed to exist between the happenings on earth and the movements

of the stars and planets and the sun and moon. The basis on which this theory rested was the belief that the gods and the heavenly bodies were one and the same, so that if the heavens might be correctly read, the will of the gods was thereby determined. The first place in astral lore was taken by Sin, the moon-god, the "lord of wisdom," that is, the wisdom to be ascertained by the scrutiny of the sky. Astrology in Babylonia did not trouble itself with the petty affairs of the individual, but only with important matters of State, and here we must note that the concept of the State stood for the solidarity of people, king, and god. So, while the common people had some impersonal share in the transactions of the State with the great gods, they had no alternative in their own affairs than to go to the spirits and demons which they believed surrounded them and deal with them directly or through sorcerers and witches. The people as well as the priests became adepts in interpreting dreams, omens, portents, monstrosities, and prodigies. In the words of Professor Morris Jastrow, "The significance attached to omens was the most conspicuous outward manifestation of the religious spirit of the people taken as a whole."¹⁵

But there was more to their religion than that. The elaborate ceremonials in the temples, while shot through with the vitiating influences of magic, contained elements of religious aspiration and fervor. The *Incantation Rituals* were in the hands of a special class of priests who had worked out a gorgeous ceremonial calculated to impress the worshipers deeply. Unfortunately, however, the gist of the whole exercise was to avert the anger of the deities, which might only be done by going through a series of incantations. The magical has penetrated the religion so deeply that it is impossible to escape it. The fear of the gods makes almost impossible an approach based on trust and confidence in the good will of the divine beings. A higher stage is reached in the Penitential Psalms. The worshiper feels and confesses that he has done wrong. He appeals to this god and that for forgiveness and cleansing.

¹⁵ *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 266.

The sins confessed run all the way from moral evil to merely ceremonial offenses, discrimination between the two not being carefully made. Even at this stage, the highest reached by the Babylonians, there is much to be desired. The "exceeding sinfulness of sin" does not become apparent. Confession and forgiveness are looked upon more as things to be done in order not to suffer the evil that might otherwise come than as the heartfelt expression of a heart filled with its own unworthiness and desiring to get back into the love and confidence of a compassionate Saviour-God.

So widely have the rewards and penalties of another life been looked upon as furnishing the only sufficient sanction of a moral life that many are led to wonder at the high ethical standards of the *Code* of Hammurapi, when seen in the light of the cheerless prospect of another world which was as much as the Babylonians ever achieved. The lot of the dead is not to be envied. There is nothing to do and no pleasures to enjoy in the dusty, cold, and dark prison where the dead, huddled together indiscriminately, live out their miserable existence. There is no chance of a return to the clear upper air, except it may be for a short time. There is no retribution for the wicked, no reward for the good, and no hope of anything better. The only thing to make their condition worse would be for the corpse to remain unburied or be mutilated. Then even a harder fate is his, to roam over the world and feed upon offal in company with other miserable ghosts. And yet, like the Hebrews who held a similar belief relative to the future life, these people developed an ethical system which does them high honor. But even here they were surpassed by the ideals of Zoroastrianism which were brought into the country with the coming of Cyrus. The old religion ceased to be as an organized faith when the Assyrian and Babylonian empires passed from the scene, but their influence did not perish. Babylonian astrology and divination and other features of their occult lore traveled westward and exerted a potent influence in the later days of the paganism of Greece and Rome, and even today the gypsy astrologer and

fortuneteller remind us of the days when these and other forms of hocus-pocus were in their glory in the Euphrates Valley.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Egypt:

J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times* (New York, 2d edit., 1935), Chaps. III, IV.

J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1912).

Georg Steindorff, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (New York, 1905).

Alan W. Shorter, *An Introduction to Egyptian Religion* (London, 1931).

Alan W. Shorter, *The Egyptian Gods* (London, 1937).

W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Religious Life in Ancient Egypt* (Boston and New York, 1924).

George Foot Moore, *History of Religions* (New York, revised edit., 1922), Vol. I, Chaps. VIII, IX.

Babylonia and Assyria:

J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times*, Chaps. V, VI.

Robert William Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1908).

Morris Jastrow, Jr., *Aspects of Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1911).

Morris Jastrow, Jr., *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, Philadelphia and London, 1915, Chaps. IV, V.

George Foot Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. I, Chap. X.

CHAPTER V

GREECE AND ROME

RELIGION BEFORE HOMER

LONG before the arrival of the Greeks a civilization had flourished in the lands which they afterward occupied. Until recent years little or nothing was known of this civilization, which had its center in the island of Crete and sent out its influences to the adjacent shores of the mainland and islands of the Mediterranean. The spade of the archaeologist has in the last generation unearthed remains which prove that this sea-faring people had developed a remarkable culture. The Minoan civilization, as it is called, was divided into three periods, the first of which reaches back as far as the pyramid age in Egypt, or about 2500 B. C., while the last may be dated between 1500 and 1200 B. C. The immediate interest we have in this development is that when the Greek immigrants made their way down from the north they came in contact with a civilization far higher than their own. What they found in Greece is known as the Minoan-Mycenaean civilization to distinguish it from the purely Minoan culture which had its origin and center in Crete. It had taken firm root on the mainland, particularly in the cities of Mycenae and Tiryns. Here in the plain of Argos they had built cities with strong, protecting walls, the ruins of which are still to be found. There is no literature from which we may read their story or an account of their religion, so there is much conjecture in the attempt to understand the significance of these people and their life. But we may be sure in drawing a few important conclusions. Greek civilization is the fusion of two cultures, a fusion which took place at so distant a date and so long before records were kept that its actuality has only been fully established in recent years. Excavations at Mycenae and other localities have revealed the existence of this early civilization and have opened up a new world for scholarly investiga-

tion. This period in early Greek history synchronizes with the last of the purely Minoan, that is, about 1500 to 1200 B. C.

The Greeks, then, came from the north and settled and conquered and assimilated with the population already in the land. We do not know much about them in that early period. Without doubt they were a branch of the widely extended Indo-European race, which we shall meet again in Persia and India as well as in Europe. The Romans were another branch of the same racial stock. But in each case the Indo-European has come in contact with some aboriginal race whom it has conquered and with whom it has blended. And while there is a resemblance between the different members of this scattered family, each has developed marked individual traits. The Greek is quite distinct from the Roman, and each has had its unique contribution to make to the subsequent history of Western civilization. Seen in this light, Greece and Rome still live, and the "glory that was Greece" and the "grandeur that was Rome" are still shedding their luster on the world of the twentieth century. Without understanding their contribution we do not really understand what we are today.

We know little about the religion of the Greeks of the early age. What can now be asserted is not known by direct evidence so much as by inference. Hints of all kinds are given which seem to point back to practices and beliefs of an age long since past. This is not very satisfactory, but it is the best we can do at the present time. Putting these various hints together and interpreting them on the basis of analogous situations in the development in other countries, tentative conclusions more or less convincing may be formed. It is important to do this, because any light which may be shed on the beginnings of the religion of so remarkable a people as the Greeks is welcomed as an aid to understand the meaning of their genius and development.

It may be inferred that the early Greek was an animist and thus in the same line of development with all other peoples whose origins are known. Evidences are not lacking that their deities were nature gods, and that they revered and even

worshiped their ancestors. It is probable that at an early time the gods were sufficiently differentiated to be considered in charge of this or that interest. They had in some sense become "departmental" gods, especially connected with the great functions of nature and human life. The reason why so much indefiniteness should exist at this point is that the Greek mind so soon conceived of its gods as being like men and so completely separated them from the objects in nature with which they were connected that the relation became indistinct and can now scarcely be discovered. They were complete personalities like ourselves and not at all suggestive of the natural objects which had first appealed to the early Greek as alive and connected with his affairs.

We know that the coming of the seasons was the signal for the holding of religious festivals, that these early settlers believed in a future life, and looked upon their departed ancestors as able to confer blessing upon their faithful descendants. There is no reason for thinking that images were worshiped in this period, nor that the references to animals and their connection with the gods pointed back to a totemic organization of society. In all probability each community had its god of the heavens who sent the light and the rain, the great god we know later as Zeus. Athena, the maiden goddess of Athens, was emerging through several transformations and can begin to be identified. There must have been a mother goddess, representing "Mother-Earth," the kindly and loving giver of life. There is evidence that they worshiped "a queen of wild beasts, the patron of the chase," "the shepherd god," "a god of fire," and "the spirits of the sea." As the Greeks proceeded southward in their migrations and came into contact with the older civilization, they took over certain gods already there. Among these undoubtedly were goddesses hitherto unknown but rapidly incorporated in their worship. Their Greek names give no clue as to their origin, thus making the problem of their Greek or non-Greek origin the more difficult of solution.

The physical configuration of Greece had much to do in determining certain aspects of their culture and religion.

Divided by the sea and the mountains into tiny sections, their religion was parochial and different in the various tiny states each of which was equally Greek. Their independence and love of local initiative, however, had as much to do with the divisiveness which was the bane of Greek political life as their geographical situation. Each secluded valley or plain centered in a city, and this city exercised its sway until the mountains or the sea interposed and brought to an end its authority. Attempts were made to break through this division into small states and form larger units, even a kingdom or empire, but from the beginning to the end the Greek *polis*, the city, and the surrounding territory was the unit and determined the characteristic form of Greek political life. In like manner Greek religion was a religion of city states, each city differing in some particulars from its neighbors, with its own divinities and its own worship. With all the unity attained in later times the local forms were so tenacious that they never ceased to mark off the cult of one state from that of another.

The bearing of these two tendencies, the one divisive and the other unifying, is highly important in the study of Greek religion. The best known and greatest of the gods of Greece was Zeus. Connected with the overarching sky, the giver of the bounties which come with the light of the sun and the rain, Zeus was early acknowledged as a god by all the Greek states, but in each case the Zeus worshiped had a secondary title. This title was local and represented the god peculiar to each state, which had been retained when he had been identified with the great Zeus. The small local community also made possible one of the forms of worship, the communal meal, in which all the citizens took part. In it the close connection between the city and its gods was sacramentally celebrated. The god was looked upon as kindly disposed toward his own people, not an angry god in need of propitiation. So these occasions were joyous festivals, the eating together of the divinity and his people, far removed from the awful sacrifices to which other peoples gave themselves in times of stress. Greek religion had its somber, more tragic phase, but in general, particularly in the earlier

period, was marked by an airy cheerfulness and delight in beauty which were characteristic of the race.

THE HOMERIC CONTRIBUTION

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer reflect the life and religion of about 1000 B. C. The period between 1100 and 700 B. C. is called the "Middle Ages" of Greek history, the period between the decline of the Mycenaean civilization and that which may be thought of as truly Hellenic. The epics fulfilled the twofold function of depicting the gods as they were conceived by the people at an early day and of crystallizing for hundreds of years the religious ideas of the growing communities of Greece. The stories contained in these poems were composed to be sung, and, repeated many times over at banquets and festivals, filled the imagination of the people with the stately mythology and picturesque legends of their own distant past.

The chief religious characteristic of the epics is anthropomorphism. The gods were personalities like men and women. They were superhuman, to be sure, but for all that they were only human beings built large. Their power was manifested in nature; the world was ruled from Mount Olympus, the residence of King Zeus and his celestial court. He, as the chief ruler of the universe, guided the events of human history and determined the destiny of men. While every conception of the gods is cast in a human mold, the epic always insists on a difference between men and gods. The gods are not confronted with the trials and sufferings of men; they are immortal and live on heavenly nectar and ambrosia, far removed from death and decay. Yet they are not omniscient, and in their passions and feelings are just like ordinary men. It is almost an indignity to man to say that the gods are like him, because in their intercourse on Olympus the gods are guilty of such amours and give exhibition of such passions as to bring a blush to the cheek of ordinary men. So we feel, and so the thinkers and writers of the classical age in Greece felt. They condemned such conduct in gods as well as in men, refusing to believe that any god worthy of their reverence should show such weak-

nesses. It may be said that while in the epic the gods appear at a disadvantage, living in the company of one another on the celestial heights, as individuals and in their relation to men and human affairs in local worships they are seen in an entirely different light, thus emphasizing the difference between the Homeric mythology and religion of the Greek states. In the local cults the gods appear as objects more worthy of reverence and worship.

Zeus was always the greatest of the gods, and such had he been from the earliest times of which we have any knowledge. He accompanied the Greeks as far as their colonies were planted and became more than any other the national god. He was "the protector of political and social groups from the state to the household. He also took under his especial cognizance moral relations among men."¹ Artemis is the goddess of wild nature, and takes life, but, strange to say, is the protector of all life as well. In the end she is presented as a chaste huntress, punishing those who do not remain pure and clean. Apollo, the model of manly beauty and perfection, is a shepherd and the deity of the shepherds. At the same time he becomes the god of revelation and at Delphi renders decisions on perplexing practical questions. Here all Greece comes and offers him homage, thus quickening the latent sense of unity which Greece so much needed. Hermes was another shepherd god and closely associated with Apollo. He was so swift of foot that he came to be recognized as the messenger of the gods.

Besides these there were Poseidon, the god of the sea; Athena, second only to Zeus, the patroness of civilization, the inventive genius, skilled in arts and industries; Aphrodite, the beautiful goddess of fertility and of love; Hera, the wife of Zeus, presiding over husbandry and industry, the patroness of married women; Hephaistos, the skillful artificer, patron of craftsmen, god of fire and the forge; Ares, the warrior, the fickle god, husband of Aphrodite; Demeter, "Mother-Earth," the goddess of the fertile soil and of tillage, who at a later date emerges into

¹ G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. I, p. 416.

great prominence in the Eleusinian Mysteries. There are many other divinities, each preserving his individuality despite the number of the gods in the pantheon. There was no worship of gods seeking human ill. If at any time ill fortune came, it was because the gods, capricious like men, were temporarily angry. There was nothing vague nor mystical about the Greek idea of divinity. The outlines were clear, the form perfect, and everything connected with the conception of the worship of the gods was beautiful and harmonious. Unfortunately, "they were not far enough off or holy enough to make religion so potent a factor as it might be in Greek life."²

While in general the relation between gods and men is kindly and familiar, there is another side. Death is present, and is only baleful and horrid. There is some sense of wrongdoing and the need of sacrifice in view of sin. There is a lower world, the abode of the Chthonian, or nether-earth, gods, whose shadow falls at times over the path of man even in sunny Greece. Worship, however, is more of a companionship, doing reverence to a great king in the heavenly realm, without any of the cringing fear and abject servility so common in other religions. Combined with an artistic temperament of the finest quality, religion expressed itself in outward adornment of exquisite beauty. All the Greeks did was beautiful and harmonious, and in no feature of their life was the result more telling or more influential for all future generations than in the temples of their gods. By the time of the epic poems all the coarse and cruel features of the cult had been laid aside and every expression of the religious sentiment was in accord with the finest taste, a fitting counterpart to the beauties of nature and art to be seen in every direction.

THE MYSTERIES

Not for centuries after the rise of the epic did the worship find its full development. Temples grew in beauty and elegance, images were gradually introduced, and the ceremonial

² Arthur Fairbanks, *A Handbook of Greek Religion*, p. 148.

became more ornate and finished in form and content. But in all we have described there was little chance for the individual as an individual to express his own religious emotions. Everything was performed by the family or clan or city; it was corporate worship with little reference to the individual. But by the seventh century before our era the individual had come to a place of importance as a citizen in the city-state, and with this new attainment were born new needs and aspirations which could not be satisfied by the formal, though beautiful and decorous, worship of the corporate body of citizens. He needed and demanded what was more personal and individual and vital. The seventh century before Christ saw a great change; there occurred what has been called "a great religious revival."

Far to the north in Thrace lived a strange god named Dionysus. He was "the old spirit of vegetable life, incarnate in the bull, incarnate in the wine." "His worship was of a distinctly orgiastic character. Groups of his worshipers, mainly women, found their way at night with torches into wild glens on the mountains; the music of drums and cymbals and flutes stirred sensitive spirits till their whirling dances and wild summons to the god induced a religious frenzy; serpents were fondled, the young of wild animals were now suckled by human mothers, now torn in pieces and eaten raw. The fawn-skin garment, the wand tipped with a fir cone and wreathed in ivy, sometimes horns attached to the head, recalled the god to whose service they were devoted." The idea in all this wild worship was "the identification of the worshipers and the god. The wilder the frenzy, the more the worshiper felt himself free from the restraints of the body and the restraints of the material world."³ All this was incongruous with the orderly and beautiful worship of the Olympian gods and could only find its way into Greek life because of a deep need unsatisfied by the regular forms of the established religion. It is true that the crudeness of the frenzied practices was toned down as they traveled south and became a permanent feature of Greek reli-

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 241.

gious life, but we are dealing in Dionysus worship with something foreign, which could only have been admitted because of strong new desires which were stirring in the hearts of the people. A longing for purification, a desire to experience religion in the inner life, and the hope of immortality were abroad and could not be stifled.

Another expression of the same spirit was the increasing importance attached to the worship of Demeter, already referred to as goddess of the soil and crops. According to the myth, Persephone, the daughter of Demeter, is seized by Hades and carried away to the lower world. Demeter, controlling the growth of the grain, brings men and gods to the point of famine by failing in her grief to perform her wonted function. Zeus is compelled to intervene and succeeds in bringing Persephone back to earth and her mother. But, having tasted the food of Hades, she must return and spend a third of the year with him, but in the spring returns with the blooming flowers and rejoices the hearts of all. The touching story took renewed hold on the imagination of the Greeks, and as a feature in the mysteries of Eleusis became especially prominent in the classical age at Athens. The rescue of Persephone from the land of the shades becomes the earnest of their expectation that men too might look for a real immortality on the other side of the grave. "It is another instance of the resuscitation of plant life after the winter's death taken as the promise and proof that man too may rise to newness of life."⁴

The great Eleusinian mysteries were performed at Athens and the adjacent Eleusis in the fall of the year, and became a part of the established religion. The procession of the initiated and the neophytes as it wended its way slowly to the sacred precincts of Eleusis was in itself impressive. There the ceremonies, of which we have exceedingly scant information, lasted two or three days. The important thing was not the doctrine which was imparted but the impression made. The myth of Demeter and Persephone was doubtless enacted, vividly pictur-

⁴ G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, pp. 450f.

ing the return of the soul from the clutches of death. The purpose of all the rites and ceremonies was to satisfy the longing for immortality by the assurance which comes through an emotional reaction, craved above all else by the initiated. It eventually became a scandal, with the inevitable tendency to allow a formal ceremony and an emotional reaction to take the place of righteousness and amendment of life. So strong must have been the desire and so slightly was it ministered to by the ancient state cults that the mysteries at Eleusis, and others which were less famous, continued to exert an influence until Christianity superseded the old paganism.

There were still other manifestations of the same reaching out after a religion which touched the inner life. The Orphic brotherhoods, wandering evangelists of a new life, were to be met all over Greece. For a time in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. they exerted a more wide-reaching influence than any other religious agency. They came into Greece in connection with one of the waves of the worship of Dionysus which swept over the country. They received their name from Orpheus, the sweet singer, who charmed the wild beasts and fierce men by his strains, and was even said to have been able to move trees and stones. Grieving over his wife, whom he had failed to rescue from Hades, he betook himself to the mountain fastnesses, where he was killed by the maenads, who tore him limb from limb. Here was tragedy and pathos sufficient to appeal to the deepest feelings. More than any of the other mysteries the Orphic religion was concerned with the next life. It preached its gospel to the individual, calling upon men to put away evil, to accept a new way of salvation, and to enter into mystic and sacramental union with their god. This cult "demanded personal faith," called for purifications, had its imitations, sacraments, and mystic rites. What theology it had was pantheistic; it taught transmigration of the soul, but held out a dreadful fate for those who were not initiated. The body is the prison house of man's soul, so that he can only attain life and freedom by separation from his body. The votaries grouped themselves into societies called *Theasoi*, like modern dissenters.

They were to a certain extent ascetics, believing they were already divine and seeking for reunion with the gods.⁵ Unlike the Eleusinian mysteries, which were incorporated into the established religion, the Orphic faith was a kind of vagrant, outside the regular channels of religious life. This very fact serves, however, to emphasize the inadequacy of the old formal cults and the need of the kind of gospel which the Orphic preachers proclaimed.

The Eleusinia were almost exclusively Greek, Roman citizens being the only outsiders to be admitted to the mystic rites. The Orphic brotherhoods, on the contrary, had a message for all men, "Greek and barbarian, bond and free." Man, they said, is half-divine and belongs to "the kindred of God." He may in this life have communion with the deity and in the next, after being purified from all his stains, may have fellowship with him forever, this fellowship reaching the point of practical identification. This has a decidedly Christian sound; it is, in fact, the high-water mark of Greek religion, only to be surpassed by the coming of a religion which could in a more complete manner fulfill the moral and spiritual aspirations which Orphism could only partially satisfy.

THE PHILOSOPHERS

At the same time the gospel of personal religion was receiving a wide hearing in Greece another movement, even more significant for the future, was coming to its own and making its contribution to Greek culture. It was the rise of the philosopher and the philosophic poet. They, rather than the priests, dominated the thought life of the Greeks and gave to the people the most worthy ideas of God and the soul which have come to us out of antiquity. It was secular literature unhampered by the restraints of ecclesiastical authority. The priesthoods of Greece never assumed controlling authority over the opinions and actions of men. They had no sacred scriptures to which they could appeal as authoritative and which might serve as a

⁵ See James Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, p. 113.

touchstone of orthodoxy. The result was that there were no doctrines which formed a body of dogma to which all might be compelled to conform. Nowhere in the ancient world had such liberty prevailed as in Greece. It was the very atmosphere which they breathed. The human mind was loosed to venture the hardest problems and to master the world of intellect and of nature. Well was it that this opportunity came to men of such consummate ability. Never have the two in such measure been found in juxtaposition even down to our own time. The Greeks have taught us how to think, and we sit at their feet today. Their minds ranged over the whole field of human learning, and were irresistibly drawn to look into the human heart and interpret the thoughts and desires which religion had implanted.

The *Odes* of Pindar show dissatisfaction with the epic account of the gods and their actions. This poet was born in 522 B. C. near Thebes, but his appeal was to all the Greeks. He was devoted to the gods and was deeply influenced by the Homeric conception. But with all his love for the old stories he does not hesitate to reject what is crude and immoral. He will not believe that the gods are guilty of any such conduct, and considers it blasphemy to impute wrong deeds to them. They are just and truthful and are completely wise. Man, on the other hand, is a sinner, and he is frequently presumptuous in not recognizing the distinction between the gods and weak, fallible human nature.

The great dramatic poets made a most significant contribution. To them there is unity in the moral order of the universe. Zeus is raised to a lofty position as the governor of the world. His righteous rule extends over all men and holds them to the exacting standards of justice and honor. Each in his own way, the three great dramatists, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, show little patience with the stories of the gods in the epics, and exhibit the Nemesis of wrongdoing and the tragic consequences of hate. They were on the side of righteousness and the higher conception of man and God.

Similarly, the great philosophers of the classical period,

Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, were leaders in moral as well as intellectual development. Particularly was this true of the first two named. Socrates was intent on pricking the bubble of conceit in men who were self-satisfied and complacent in their theories, but, more than that, he was constantly seeking to build up men in virtue. For Socrates virtue is defined as knowledge, so that to know things as they are and to see clearly is to be good. To know is to be, and in Socrates himself it seems almost to be true, so closely did his will synchronize with his knowledge of what was right. A deeper conception of morality has taken us beyond this, but the deep feeling that there is a spiritual presence in the world working for righteousness and the unconquerable hope of immortality, which made him calm and even cheerful in the presence of a tragic death, mark Socrates as one of the great souls in the history of ethics and religion.

Plato was the pupil of Socrates. He must have it that the gods are good, that they will never stoop to evil in any form. Thus, being righteous themselves, they demand the same morality in men. Receiving from his great master an ethical and spiritual outlook on life, Plato went much further and elaborated his philosophy into a system whose influence is in many respects as powerful today as in past ages. We live in a spiritual world in which *ideas* are the most real and important ingredient. The great Idea is God and he is one. Thus Plato was laying the foundations for a theistic interpretation of the universe. In fact, he has been called "the founder of theistic philosophy."⁶ Aristotle, "the master of those who know," is far more interested in the world of nature around him. He is the man of science as well as the philosopher. His God is farther away from men than that of Plato. Man is midway between God and the physical universe and so has a nature both spiritual and earthly. He has no conception of immortality as a personal experience, as was taught by Plato and Socrates. But with many differences in outlook upon life and its problems Aristotle

⁶ G. F. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 499.

takes his place with his great predecessors in the insistence of his moral demands and in his belief in a unified universe controlled and held together by a single spiritual Being over all.

In the later period as we approach the Christian era several philosophies emerge which seek to interpret life to a changing, dissatisfied age, an age which, according to Professor Gilbert Murray, had "lost its nerve." Epicureanism is not guilty of recommending a life of indulgence, as has been charged, but it has no religious message. Believing that a life of contentment can only be lived if fear of the gods and dread foreboding concerning the future be eliminated, it proceeded to construct a philosophy with no reference to the spiritual world either now or hereafter. A very different viewpoint was that occupied by Stoicism, stern and forbidding as it was in so many features. There is a God, a living God, who is present in every atom of the universe, and this God is a spirit. But when "spirit" is defined, it is seen not to be really spiritual at all. It is matter like everything else, though matter in the more ethereal form of fire and vapor. But it was in respect of morality that the Stoics had a message which reached many of the finest spirits of the age. Good and evil exist side by side, and it is man's part to choose between them. It is his to choose virtue and devote himself to it. He is to do so solely for virtue's sake, not for any reward that may come by so doing—that were to defeat the very end he has in view. Sternly he must suppress his impulses and live untouched by any emotional appeals. It was no milk for babes, this Stoic creed. Small wonder it found lodgment in the hearts of many of the noblest men. It was exalted and far-reaching in its demands on life and offered standing room for men who would not be drawn down into the unethical thinking and low living of the mass of the people around them.

But another idea was abroad in the land, the idea that matter is intrinsically evil. Basing their teaching on Plato and Pythagoras, the Neopythagoreans placed God, the principle of good, in contrast and in conflict with matter, which is evil and only evil. Men are partakers of the divine nature, but are in danger of being drawn down into the vileness of their natural

environment. This can only be prevented by overcoming their fleshly desires through a strict regimen, which included becoming vegetarians and celibates.

At the same time many men in Greece were turning their eyes to the mysterious East, for out of the East were coming strange religions which found ready acceptance in the lands of the West. We shall have more to say concerning these mystery religions in connection with the later days of the Roman religion, but mention is made of them here because in Greece as well as Rome they found congenial soil in which to grow.

The last phase of the development of the Greek intellect was Neoplatonism, whose great teacher was Plotinus. It based its teaching on the idealistic philosophy of Plato, but added an element to which the great philosopher was a stranger. It was philosophy touched with emotion. It also partook of the prevailing thought of the day that matter was evil. God was separated from man by a great chasm, even though man originally came from God. But man has forgotten his origin and his birthright and goes about his affairs unmindful of his heritage. He may, however, get back. This is to be done by stages, step by step regaining what had been lost, until in the end he loses himself in the God from whom he has come. Only enough has been said about Neoplatonism and the other philosophies to indicate that they were religious; that they dealt not only with conduct but with salvation; that they attempted to meet the needs of men and women who in an age of confusion were seeking the light, and that they were very evidently preparing the way for the coming of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which gathered up into itself all the elements of worthy appeal to be found in the philosophies which had preceded it and which in addition could embody in a personality the very essence of its living power—and this the Greek philosophies could not do.

EARLY ROMAN RELIGION

The mistake often has been made of thinking that Roman religion was about the same as Greek religion. The mistake

could easily be made because Greek religion was transported to Rome and became the possession of the Roman people. But before the Greek influence began to be felt Rome had a religion of its own, and the character of this religion must be known before the later mixture of Greek and Roman ideas can be understood. Then it will be seen how distinctive the Roman contribution was and how its influence was a powerful factor in the later faith of the city and empire of Rome.

The early religion of the people of Rome was above everything else practical. They were an agricultural people and their religion was suited to the simple needs of countrymen. Already we begin to see the distinctive character of whatever is Roman. These people, unlike the Greeks, were not a thinking people. They had no mythology and no philosophic theories of the origins of things. They were men who did not ask questions beyond the pragmatic questions, Is it useful? Does it work? They were men of law and order and authority with capacity to conquer and to rule. They conquered the world of the Mediterranean basin and even beyond, and out of the loose fragments welded an empire, which was one of the most magnificent products of human genius. They made little contribution to the intellectual life of the world, but they developed one of the most important gifts of the ancient to the modern world—the Roman Law. The empire went to pieces when the barbarians from the north came pouring over the defenses along the Rhine and the Danube and made the old empire their home, but the influence of Rome still lives. Our laws bear the impress of the various Roman codes, particularly that of the Emperor Justinian, and in the Roman Catholic Church we have in every country of the world the inheritor of the organizing genius of the ancient Romans, which exercises over its adherents today the same authority, and demands the same implicit obedience as did Rome under both the republic and the empire. Rome richly deserves the title “eternal” both as respects her continued existence as a city and her influence in the world.

The gods of the Romans were powers who were expected to do the things they were capable of doing. They were powers,

numina, with scarcely enough personality to be called gods. No images were made of them because the Roman mind had never conceived of its divinities as personal. Each power had its own function and was not known in any other way than in its performance. This caused a division of labor among the powers which seems to reduce the gods to very small dimensions. To illustrate, "Seia has to do with the corn before it sprouts, Segetia with corn when shot up. Tutilina with corn stored in the granary, Nodotus has for his care the knots in the straw. There is a god Door, a goddess Hinge, a god Threshold. Each act in opening infancy has its god or goddess. The child has Cunina when lying in the cradle, Statina when he stands, Edula when he eats, Locutius when he begins to speak, Adeona when he makes for his mother, Abeona when he leaves her; forty-three such gods of childhood have been counted. Pilumnus, god of the pestle, and Diverra, goddess of the broom, may close our small sample of the limitless crowd."⁷ This is very close to animism but with the personal element reduced to a minimum. With no imagination the Roman was content with such a relation to the thousand powers around him, each doing its part in the practical work of life. Such was the condition in the earliest day, but later certain of the divinities assumed an importance unknown before and became the greater gods of the State religion. Jupiter holds the first place, also called Optimus Maximus, and next comes Mars, who (with Quirinus) is the God of War. Janus, after whom the first month of our year is named, is the god of opening, the old Roman god of the door at the entrance of the house. The last of these greater gods of the early days is Vesta, originally the goddess of the family hearth and latterly the guardian of the State hearth.

The religion of the family, as has just been intimated, was the earliest form of Roman religion. The only priest in that day was the father of the family, the *paterfamilias*. He offered the sacrifices and led the family in its religious duties. Certain of

⁷ Allan Menzies, *History of Religion*, p. 307.

the earliest deities were distinctively family gods. Vesta, the fire of the hearth, in which the family life centered, came first. The duty of caring for the fire and keeping the hearth clean fell to the mistress of the house, who thus had her part in the family worship. In a later day, when Vesta became a goddess of the State, the place of the mistress of the house was taken by six vestal virgins, charged with keeping the fire and other duties specially assigned to them. The Lares, or ancestral spirits, watched over the household, and the Penates protected the store-rooms, on which the sustenance of the family depended. The Manes, "the kindly deities," were looked upon as well disposed to the living, as their name indicates. Besides these each individual had his own protecting divinity; in the case of a man it was his Genius, of a woman her Juno. These "good angels," which seem often to be little more than one's other self, have watch-care through life over one's fortunes and at death go out into the great unknown with him.

As the old family religion was enlarged into the State religion it became in a very definite sense an affair of the State. The ministers of religion were State officials, appointed and performing their duties like other officials. True to their genius, the Romans organized this State religion as thoroughly as the government, of which in reality it was a part. The cult was purely a formal performance of the ritual and ceremonial with no vestige of sentiment about it. Great care was exercised to secure correctness and precision in the conduct of the worship, for the efficacy of the rite depended upon just these things. Like a stern earthly potentate who demands that he be approached with circumspection and that he be addressed with the proper titles, so the gods were looked upon as making the same demands. The gods could be counted upon to prevent evils from befalling the people only if they on their part performed their religious duties punctiliously and thus gave them the honor which was their due.

The number of festival days was large. This made necessary the organization of the religious officials, that all the duties might be properly performed. The flamens were priests as-

signed to this or that god, on whom the conduct of the worship rested. The augurs were the official diviners, set to the task of ascertaining the will of the god by various forms of divination, notably observation of the flight of birds and examination of the livers of sheep. Other groups might also be named, like the Arval brothers, who officiated before the goddess who provided the needed crops, and the Luperi, or wolf-men, who sacrificed goats and dogs to a rustic god on the occasion of his annual festival. In charge of the affairs of religion was the pontifex, of whom there were at first five, later fifteen, whose duties were varied, for, being State officials, they were charged with duties now looked upon as purely secular. With their conception of the gods as powers, scarcely personal, there was little likelihood that any attempt would be made to represent them as images in human form, and with no images there would be no temples, where the gods might dwell. This development was not reached until a later day, when Rome came under the influence of foreign faiths.

THE CONTACT WITH GREECE

With all the changes introduced into Roman religion by contact with outside cults what has already been described continued as the religion of the people and the State down through the period of the republic, that is, from 509 to 27 B. C. Before that was the age of the kings, and after that the empire, which so far as the West was concerned, came to an end 476 A. D. What we have now to recount took place in the days of the republic. But even before that Roman religion had been modified by contact with a people close at hand. The Etruscans lived in Italy just north of the Tiber and were thus early brought into contact with the Romans as they began to settle, say about 750 B. C., on the hills south of that stream. It was Etruscan influence which was responsible for the building of a wall around the settlements on the hilltops, thus making Rome a city with a sense of unity and pride in itself. And the same influence was responsible for the *pomerium*, or plowed furrow around the city within which no foreign deity might be allowed

to come. Thus Rome was provided through this Etruscan contact with both a material and a spiritual wall, which raised the people to a hitherto unknown sense of their uniqueness. They were now a complete, self-sufficient State, able both to defend themselves and enter upon the conquests which carried their eagles almost to the bounds of the then known world. The Etruscan also introduced the temple, or *templum*, which in that day did not mean a building but a rectangular area marked off on the ground, which was supposed to be a counterpart of a heavenly rectangle, and from which the flight of birds could be effectively observed. As Professor Jesse Benedict Carter suggests,⁸ the earliest religion of the Roman people, untouched by outside influences, appealed to the *social* instinct—it was the religion of the family and family interests. Under the influence of the Etruscans the religion made its appeal to *national* instinct—Rome is now a city, self-conscious and strong and able to make a name for itself in the world.

The current of Greek influence began about the time the republic was established. The story of the beginnings of this contact with Greece is shrouded in legend, but deserves to be told even in so short a sketch as this. "A later age, from whom history has no secrets, with a cheap would-be omniscience told of the old woman who visited Tarquin (the last of the kings) and offered him nine books for a certain price, and when he refused to pay it, went away, burned three, and then returning offered him at the original price the six that were left; on his again refusing she went away, burned three more and finally offered at the same old price the three that remained, which he accepted. Except as a sidelight on the character of the early Greek trader the story is worthless."⁹ The fact is that Rome came early into contact with the Greek colonies of southern Italy and at some time about the beginning of the republic came into possession of the *Sibylline Books*, the traditional story of the acquisition of which from the old woman of Cumae has just been quoted. These so-called books were treasured by the

⁸ *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome*, p. 63.

⁹ J. B. Carter, *The Religion of Numa*, p. 65.

Romans as a sacred possession; they were placed for safe keeping in the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill in the care of guardians specially appointed for that purpose, the *Quindecemviri*, or the Fifteen. The books were kept secret and under the control of the Senate, who determined when the volumes might be consulted. All this shows the reverence in which these mysterious documents were held. The important thing about them was that whenever they were consulted, the answer always came that certain deities, Greek deities in every case, should be introduced and worshiped. This does not account for the coming of Greek religion into Italy, for it had been there long before and had already begun to influence Rome, but it does place the sanction of official approval on the reception of these foreign deities and worships. So important is this remarkable movement that Professor Carter says of it, "The study of the outward and the inward effects of the *Sibylline Books* is therefore the real history of religion in the first half of the republic."¹⁰

In the year 496 B. C. Rome was in difficulty; her crops had failed, and this rendered her position insecure in the war with the Latins then being waged. Recourse was had to the Sibylline books and the result was the introduction into Rome of the worship of Dionysus, Demeter, and Persephone, Greek deities familiar to our ears. These foreign divinities were not allowed within the *pomerium*, so continued to be looked upon as outsiders. They dropped their Greek names and were given Roman names, names of already existing Roman gods and goddesses. By taking their names these new Greek divinities crowded the Roman gods out of their place until all that was left was a name. Demeter became known as Ceres, an old fertility goddess about whom little is known. But now Demeter with the old name "Ceres" becomes an important goddess with a splendid temple and games to her honor. Dionysus is identified with Liber, the patron of the vine, and so completely absorbs what individuality Liber had developed that little is

¹⁰ J. B. Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

left of the Roman god save the name. Persephone, or Kore, is identified with Libera, the female counterpart of Liber, just mentioned. But there was such confusion that, when in a later day Persephone was again introduced into Rome, this time without change of name, as a goddess supposed to be unknown before in the city, we have two Roman goddesses, Proserpina and Libera, both representing the same Greek deity.

After this Greek gods and goddesses came into Rome one after another until they were all there. Rome had enlarged her pantheon until it seemed literally to include all the gods of the countries with whom she was in touch. Most of these gods were brought in at some time of stress. They did not come in deliberately to take the place of the old Roman gods, but to perform some function for which no Roman god seemed prepared. The very idea of deity was changed by the process, the Romans coming in the end to look upon their Greek gods with Latin names just as the Greeks looked upon them—personalities like men and women, with images and temples in which they lived. The old ideas and practices languished and the city was filled with new forms of worship. It was a veritable conquest, Rome the Conqueror vanquished in the things of the mind and the spirit by the clever and versatile Greek. The Greek Zeus may be identified with the Roman Jupiter, Hera with Juno, Poseidon with Neptune, Athena with Minerva, Ares with Mars, Aphrodite with Venus, Artemis with Diana, Hermes with Mercury, but in the identification the Greek god lived on in power and influence despite the Latin name which had been assumed. In the end these new deities were admitted within the *pomerium* and thus were looked upon as thoroughly Roman. From the time of the Second Punic War, about the year 200 B. C., no differences can be detected between the Roman and the Greek elements in the cult; it is a new religion in fact, the Graeco-Roman, and such it remained until the day when it disappeared with the oncoming of Christianity.

The last use of the *Sibylline Books* of which we have any record was in the crisis of 205 B. C., when Hannibal was in Italy and Rome was in danger of falling into his hands. The books

were consulted and the answer came that the enemy could be overcome if the Great Mother of the Gods should be brought to Rome from her home in Central Asia Minor. But now we have come to that period in the history of Roman religion when a new element, not Roman, or even Greek, finds its way into the worship and changes it still further into a compound faith, with ingredients gathered from all the lands of the East. To understand this influence is the final task in estimating the religion of pre-Christian Rome.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE EAST

During the period of the republic (about 500 B. C. to the beginning of our era) Rome became mistress of the world. Never had there been such an empire. Wealth poured into the city and Rome became the metropolis of the world, the center from which radiated all the ideas and forces which came to a focus in the multiform activities of its busy life. But Rome had changed; she was not as religious as she had been in the simpler days of the past. Greek philosophers had come in with their criticism of the old religious beliefs and aided the disintegration which had set in. The deterioration was not only religious but moral. Few people can stand such rapid increase of wealth and influence, and the Romans were no exception to the rule. The institution of games in connection with the triumphs of her generals and the religious festivals demoralized the people and led to such excesses that the morals of Rome in the centuries just before and after the birth of Christ have become a byword and a reproach in all succeeding generations. The offices of religion in connection with the State cult fell into disuse and men could not be found to fill positions which were vacant. Such ceremonies as were performed were carried through only in the most perfunctory manner, like any other State function. The very knowledge of some old religious ceremonies perished and others were neglected, so that they lost all meaning. It was a desperate situation which prevailed at the time when Julius Caesar passed off the scene and his nephew Octavius, known later as Augustus Caesar, took the reins of

government and began to rule. The days of the Roman Empire had come, and Augustus proved to be the man of the hour.

One of the events which mark his reign was the revival of religion. It was largely his own work. Augustus recognized that without religion a country is lost. He revived old ceremonies, filled offices which had been unoccupied for years, rebuilt temples, and in every way sought to restore religion to its old place of power in the life of the people. He brought in some new features, the most remarkable of which was Caesar-worship. At first it was worship of the dead rulers of the past, then of the living emperor sitting in the seat of authority in Rome. It was not called emperor-worship; the Romans would have resented such a bald statement as too much of an innovation. The proposal was to worship the "Genius" of the emperor, the shadowy counterpart of the living man which was more or less spiritual and other-worldly. This was not quite so much a shock to their sensibilities, but it was only a step removed from the actual worship of the emperor himself. This became the one universal form of religion and the touchstone of loyalty to the empire. By their refusal to perform the rites connected with this worship the early Christians were declared treasonous and were thrown to the lions.

Now, the important fact to keep in mind is that emperor-worship was an importation. The old Roman might hesitate at such a step, but it was natural and easy for the Asiatic, and the introduction of the strange idea is an evidence of the strength of the influence which had set in from the eastern sections of the empire. The old religion had ceased to satisfy the desires of even the stern old Romans, and its place was being taken by religions which came trooping in from Asia and Africa. We have already mentioned the coming of the Great Mother of the Gods, whose home had been in the wild mountains of Central Asia Minor. King Attalus presented the deputation which had come from the Roman senate with the god in the form of a black aerolite, and this was taken to Rome, received with due ceremony—and the danger from Hannibal was

averted. But who is Cybele, the Mother of the Gods, thus brought to Rome, so far from her original home? She is the wife of Attis, who has been violently killed. She mourns him with tumultuous sorrow. He is finally raised to life again amid the wildest rejoicing. Such in the briefest space is the myth brought with the goddess to Rome in 205 B. C. Her worship in Asia Minor was an imitation of the acts depicted in the myth, and, as might be expected, was made up of wild and uncontrolled orgies. The staid Romans were shocked at these displays and the cult had a checkered career in the capital, but in the days of the empire it won its way into popular favor and received the sanction of the government. There was a procession, which was followed by exercises in the temple, where the old myth was retold and reacted, producing "a state of rapturous ecstasy" which swept the worshiper off his feet and lifted him into union with the deity. As Attis died and was raised to life again, so would the worshiper be sure of another life. Union with the god could be sacramentally achieved by the bloody *taurobolium*. A man would stand in a deep trench under a grating on which a bull was killed, and the blood poured through the grating over the head and body of the worshiper. In this bath he believed he had entered into a new life by physical contact with the life-giving blood. The origin of the rite is obscure, but it doubtless goes back to an ancient belief that the strength of the animal could be physically transfused into his body. Later the whole process was spiritualized and interpreted as the new birth of the soul.

Already the reason why such practices, so strange to old Roman religion, could exercise so strong an influence is evident. There was an emotional appeal which was irresistible. The ancient faith had no message when men began to be alive to new desires and aspirations. It was cold and prosaic; these religions which came out of the East made an appeal to the senses, were full of mystery, and were really human and warm in sympathy. That they descended to the level of the sensual at times did not militate against their success, for there was so much more which the old religion did not possess that defects,

even when seen as such, did not prevent them from being acceptable. They were religions of salvation, of rewards and punishment, of immortality, and, last but not least, they demanded personal allegiance based on belief in the goodness of the divinity.

The religion of Isis and Osiris came from Egypt and gathered a large popular following, despite persecution during its earlier days. But it too became domesticated and was considered a legitimate faith by the State as well as the people. Here, again, the appeal did not lie in its system of thought, nor in its morality, which was exceedingly questionable, nor even in its doctrine of cleansing, but in the intoxicating seduction of the ritual and the promise of immortality. Again, in this religion there is the old story, familiar in the religion of Egypt, of Isis and her husband Osiris, who was killed by the evil-minded Typhon. Horus, their son, would wreak vengeance on his father's murderer, but in the end Osiris is raised to a new life and Typhon is forgiven. There is here the appeal to the elemental passions of love, hate, vengeance, and forgiveness. It is warm with human interest and sympathy and comes close to the daily life of men and women, and this the old religion could never do.

A variety of beliefs and practices came in from Syria. The most famous of the deities was Atargatis, the Dea Syria, whose worship was associated with dreadful sensuality. It could not help but work harm, yet in the ancient world there was real confusion between the impure and the sacred, and hence greater difficulty in seeing clearly what had in it the seeds of evil. Especially was this true in religious worship, in which the elemental emotions play so important a part. From Syria too came astrology, which had its home in Babylon, as we have seen, and which now took on new life among the peoples of the West. But of all these religions that of Mithras is the most interesting and the most important. Coming originally out of Persia, Mithraism was found about the beginning of our era in the mountains of Asia Minor. From there it came into Rome about 70 B. C., the last of these Oriental faiths to

reach the West. But while it was slow in starting on its career of conquest, it extended farther than all the others when its message began to be known. Carried by merchants and slaves, but especially by soldiers, the *mithreums*, or underground chapels, have been discovered wherever in the wide expanses of the empire the Roman legions were stationed. There was again the myth of how Mithras by slaying the bull brought life and plenty to the world. This scene is depicted on all the bas-reliefs in every place of worship. It was a man's religion and made surprising moral demands upon its followers. This at once raises it to a level higher than that of the other Eastern cults. Through seven grades the initiates were led until they had attained the highest level. Mithras was the god of light and in the later time became identified with the sun, and as Sol Invictus, the Invincible Sun, was the last embodiment of the pagan idea of deity, before it went down forever in the brighter light of another religion from the East which was to supersede them all.

Christianity, then, was one of these Eastern faiths which found a welcome in the West and in the end became the religion of the whole empire. It too had a story to tell, of a Saviour who was crucified and who rose again and was seen by his disciples. It too touched the emotions, and held out the promise of immortality. A religion from the East, and in some respects like the others, Christianity, however, rose to a level of moral sublimity and self-forgetful service unattainable by Mithraism or the religion of Isis and the Great Mother. And as compared with the other deities, even Mithras, the Saviour in Christianity has the advantage of being a real historical character and of exemplifying in his own person all the moral excellencies of his own doctrine.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Greece:

J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times* (New York, 2d edit., 1935), Part III, The Greeks.

Arthur Fairbanks, *A Handbook of Greek Religion* (New York, 1910). A compact but complete survey.

L. R. Farnell, *Outline-History of Greek Religion* (London, 1921).
A short, comprehensive survey by one of the leading authorities.

Martin P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1925).

Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (New York, 1925).

L. R. Farnell, *The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion* (New York, 1912).

The Legacy of Greece, by Various Authors (Oxford, 1922).

George Foot Moore, *History of Religions* (New York, Revised edit., 1922), Vol. I, Chaps. XVII-XX.

Rome:

J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times*, Parts IV and V, dealing with Rome and the Roman Empire.

J. B. Carter, *The Religion of Numa* (New York, 1906). A short but helpful survey of the ancient religion.

Franz Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (Chicago, 1911). The best account of the influence of the East.

W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911). The most extended survey in English of the religion to the time of Augustus.

George Foot Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. I, Chaps. XXI, XXII.

W. R. Halliday, *Lectures on the History of Roman Religion* (London, 1922).

The Legacy of Rome, by Various Authors (Oxford, 1923).

CHAPTER VI

THE RELIGION OF ZOROASTER

THE INDO-EUROPEANS AND THEIR RELIGION

IN the study of the religion of Zoroaster we make the transition from the religions which have passed away and ceased to be to the living religions of mankind. The worshipers of Ahura Mazda in India and Persia today, small in number though they be, are the descendants of those to whom the prophet Zoroaster came. They are proud of their history and unbroken tradition. The Parsis (a name derived from "Persia") in India are an exclusive community of about a hundred thousand souls, who have in recent decades prospered greatly and have become the best-educated and most progressive community in the whole land. So, because of their long and honorable history and their present position of prominence in the land of their adoption, it is altogether fitting that we should seek to understand the religion which has bound them together so closely. Bristling with difficulties though the investigation may be, the student finds himself lured on as each step reveals, particularly in the earlier development, glimpses of a faith with such a lofty conception of the Divine Being and such uncompromising insistence on morality that he realizes he is dealing with one of the highest religions to be found among men. But before taking it up directly it is necessary to place it in its proper setting as one of the religions of the Indo-European peoples.

At a period at least two or three thousand years before Christ there roamed on the grassy plateaus and steppes of Central or Eastern Europe or even Western Asia—we really do not know where—tribes of nomadic peoples seeking pasturage for their flocks and herds. They were white men, speaking a common language, with vivid imagination and boundless energy. For some reason—it may have been the natural increase of population which tended to overcrowd the regions already occupied

—groups of these restless nomads would start off to find a more congenial home, until in the end they were scattered far to the east and south and west, all the distance from Ireland and Scotland, in the cold and misty west, to the plains of India, under a blazing tropical sun. The branch which we know as the Kelts moved westward at an early date and pushed far to the west into the British Isles and France as we know them today. They were followed by the Teutonic peoples to whom the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians belong, and these in turn must have been urged westward by Slavic tribes who finally settled in Central and Eastern Europe. We know little about their movements until in the early centuries of our era the Teutonic peoples burst through the barriers of the Roman Empire and changed the whole course of Western civilization. Other branches of the Indo-Europeans also pushed westward and southward and had by mingling with the races already present formed the national groups which we know as the Greeks and the Romans. Even more obscure are the movements of still other branches which swarmed into Asia Minor, peoples whom we know as Hittites, Phrygians, Scythians, and Armenians.

These all moved toward the west.¹ Others, however, were led to take a different direction. They migrated toward the south and east and finally found a permanent home for themselves in Persia and in India. This double branch of the original stock is correctly known by the name "Aryan," which is frequently but less correctly given to all the Indo-European peoples. These Aryans formed one more or less homogeneous group for a period sufficiently long to develop certain peculiarities which belong to these races, but which are not to be found among the peoples who migrated westward. We do not know when it occurred, but finally the Aryans divided into two groups, one going to the southwest and finding its home on the bleak, wind-swept plateau of Persia, and the other going to the southeast, penetrating the passes of the mountain barrier, and finally settling down in the plains of Northern India. It was among these immigrants into Iran, or Persia, that Zoroaster appeared and

preached his gospel of a holy God who demanded righteousness in his worshippers.

In the days when all the Indo-European peoples lived in more or less close relation with one another they possessed a common language, a common culture, and a common religion. As they separated, differences began to appear and became more marked as the centuries passed, but certain likenesses, particularly in language, were not obliterated and are used today to show the kinship between these groups which in so many ways are poles apart in their thinking and in their customs—and it may be even in race.

Professor Otto Schrader has given¹ an account of about all that can be gleaned from a great variety of sources concerning this undivided Indo-European religion. It had two phases, the worship of dead ancestors and the worship of the "heavenly ones." Both burial and cremation were known and practiced, burial being supposed to have preceded cremation. The change indicated a different viewpoint, for, while burial was a means of continuing the connection between soul and body, cremation was intended to separate the soul from its body as soon as possible. One form of disposal of the dead did not completely displace the other, and we have no means of knowing why one was practiced in preference to the other. But whatever might be the means used for disposing of their bodies, the dead were held in high reverence and elaborate rites were practiced in their memory. Gifts of various kinds were made to the dead so as to provide them with what they needed in the other world. They were not so far away, and could come and really though invisibly share in the feast which was spread in their honor. They had become more powerful in the other world and yet continued to be vitally interested in all the concerns of the family. They were appealed to for help; they must also be placated, for they were looked upon as even more severe than a stern parent and quite easily angered. So urgent was the demand that the good things of this life be provided for those

¹ Article, "Aryan Religion," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

who had passed over that inhuman cruelty was not uncommonly exhibited. Even wives and slaves were sent after the departed for his comfort, and for a young man who had not yet been married and had met an untimely death a marriage was performed with a young woman, who was then burned or buried alive with the corpse!

The other side of the worship was that of the "heavenly ones." There are evidences of primitive animism, of fetishism, and of a higher development into the worship of certain great powers of nature. In Professor Schrader's words, "The worship of the sky and the powers of nature connected with it formed the real kernel of the primitive Aryan (Indo-European) religion." This means the worship of the sun and moon, fire, wind, and water. These gods were not named; they were looked upon as personal, but had not been fully personified. The element of magic was quite evident in the relations of the worshipers with the powers, but genuine religion in the form of sacrifice and prayer was also present and raised the relationship to a higher level. The father was the first priest, but it was not long before a priestly class began to develop and take charge of the sacrifices. Only gradually were the greater gods personalized and moralized. Until that took place the worship of ancestors was a far greater moral force than the more sublime worship of the powers of nature. Unfortunately, through it all there was the somber thread of fatalism, which permeated life with a retarding and depressing influence. Such, briefly, was the religion of our Indo-European forefathers. This may help us to understand the better the development which later took place and also the present tendencies in life and thought among the great Indo-European family of races and peoples.

ZOROASTER AND HIS REFORMATION

While those who afterward settled in Persia and in India were still together, they developed certain common features of ritual and belief which remained with them long after they became separate peoples. They came to believe in a number of gods who were believed in by both in later times. Notable

among them was Mithras (Mitra in India), who, as we have seen, traveled west and found his home in the Roman Empire in the last days of paganism. Fire is held in high reverence today by the Parsis, and harks back to the worship of the sacrificial flame by the early Aryans. They prepared and venerated the intoxicating Haoma (Soma in India), which was to play an important part in later Indian religion. The cow had already become sacred and remained so in both countries. There was already to be found an injunction to "good thoughts and good works," and a priesthood of fire-kindlers, who were influential in the religion of the people.² But as soon as the people separated differences of a very fundamental sort began to develop. The tendency in India was toward speculation, in Iran toward the practical and ethical. This cleavage goes very deep and marks a difference between the peoples which can scarcely be bridged over. We are in different worlds, surrounded in each case by a totally different atmosphere. In India we of the West feel oppressed by the pall of pantheism and the moral inertia which everywhere seem to be present, but in Persia in the days of Zoroaster the breezes are charged with moral vigor and men see God and human life and sin clear-eyed and enter the battle of life intending to defeat evil and its agents and come out victors in the contest.

Unfortunately, great uncertainty exists relative to Zoroaster.³ When he lived and where he worked are still subjects of controversy. The traditional dates are 660 B. C. for his birth and 583 B. C. for his death. And when such authorities as Professor A. V. Williams Jackson and Bishop L. C. Casartelli are convinced that these dates are substantially correct, it is impossible to displace them hastily. We must state, however, that other competent authorities feel that the facts demand an earlier date, about 1000 B. C. The coincidence is striking if the traditional dates should prove to be correct, for that would bring Zoroaster

² The above facts taken from Professor Eduard Meyer, article, "Persia," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edit.

³ This is the common Greek form of the name. The original form is Zarathustra, as it is in the old Persian language.

into the same century with the Buddha in India, Confucius in China, Pythagoras in Greece, and Jeremiah in Judaea. Zoroaster was a real historical character despite the uncertainty in date and the locality where he worked. Professor Jackson has carried many others with him in his belief that the prophet came from the northwest of what is now Persia and, traveling eastward, found his lifework in the northeastern part of the country—but again this is not accepted by others.

When he was thirty years old, Zoroaster left home to attend a religious festival. While he was away he experienced "a divine manifestation," or vision, which was the first of seven great experiences which came to him during the ten years following. We are told that he was led by an archangel before the throne of God. Here he communed with God himself. He began to preach his reform immediately after the first vision and was never deflected from it. At the end of the ten years the doctrine was a completed whole, a distinct message very different from the faith which had existed for long among his people. For a time his preaching produced little effect; a cousin was his only convert. Zoroaster was much discouraged, as the authentic texts clearly show. Finally at God's bidding he goes to the court of King Vishtaspa and seeks the conversion of the king himself. At last he succeeds, against the opposition of the jealous priests, who for a time are able to keep him in prison and away from the king. The story is embellished with miraculous interventions, which were incorporated into the narrative later, but the one significant fact stands out, that the king, the queen, and finally the entire court are soundly converted. This is said to have occurred in 618 B. C., or when the Prophet was forty-two years old. It was his triumph; from that time on his work was relatively easy.⁴ After many years of teaching, while engaged in the "holy wars" in defense of the faith, he was killed at the hand of an enemy, "a Turanian whose name is preserved to ill renown." Zoroaster was one of the greatest

⁴ See *Zoroastrian Studies*, by A. V. W. Jackson, Chap. III, for further details; also *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Iran*, by the same author.

heroic religious characters the world has known. Had he been followed by a succession of like-minded men, as was the case in the history of the Hebrews, he might have produced effects as wide-reaching as the religion of the Old Testament. But he was the only religious genius this religion produced, and during the centuries since his death there has been a sad decline from his lofty teaching.

Zoroaster was a practical man and preached the doctrine of work, especially the care of the cattle, which were to be protected from the wild Turanians of the north. But more than this, he was deeply stirred by the recklessness of the nobles, who "killed domestic animals, unheeding the requirements of rural husbandry."⁵ So Zoroaster was in a true sense a social as well as a religious reformer. The two ran close together in his preaching and work. As Archbishop Söderblom says, "He could not bear to see robbery go unpunished and the fruits of labor spoiled."⁶

This was one side; but there was another, almost unexplicable in one so practical. He was not concrete and simple in his teaching, as was Jesus, and thus failed to win the people to himself and his doctrine. He was abstract in his thinking and seemed never to be able to come down to the level of his hearers. Despite all this he was intent on reaching all with his new conceptions and accomplished a veritable religious revolution. He hated nature worship and any form of anthropomorphism. God to him was "high and lifted up" above any likeness to anything in heaven or earth. He denounced all the old "heavenly ones," calling them evil powers fit only to be destroyed and put away. He spared none, not even "Mithras and his troops"; they were all to be banished. Zoroaster's god was Mazdah, or Ahura Mazda, "the wise," the wisdom in question being the "knowledge of good and evil," or, as Professor James Hope Moulton puts it, "The unerring instinct that can distinguish between Truth and Falsehood, which for the prophet were

⁵ Nathan Söderblom, *The Living God*, p. 180.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 187.

the most vital aspects of good and evil.”⁷ Here, then, lie close together the two great truths which Zoroaster would introduce, that God is one, and that he is holy and irreconcilably at enmity with evil. This is not far distant, surely, from the teachings of the Hebrew prophets.

So much is fairly clear, but difficulties are immediately forthcoming. Of the various parts of the *Avesta*, as the sacred books of the Zoroastrians were called, the *Gathas* are undoubtedly the work of the Prophet himself. They are exceedingly difficult to translate and to understand. From beginning to end they contain statements about “six highly abstract conceptions,” known as Amesha Spenta, or “undying holy ones.” They are as follows:

1. Vohu Manah, Good Thought.
2. Asha, Right, or Divine, Order.
3. Khshathra, Dominion, or the Excellent Kingdom.
4. Aramaiti, Piety, or Holy Character.
5. Haurvatat, Health.
6. Ameretat, Immortality.

The last two are always found together in the *Gathas*.

Now, what are these Amesha Spenta? They have been called “vassals,” and “archangels,” who help Ahura Mazda in his work of truth and righteousness. So they were without question in after years, and so they are held to be by competent scholars even in the teaching of the Prophet. But Professor Moulton is so profoundly convinced that Zoroaster was a monotheist that he argues strenuously for another explanation. To him they are not outside but “within the Deity”; they “share adoration with the Deity”; they are personifications, more or less real, even when they are called by their special names or titles.⁸

We must never forget that Zoroaster was not a theologian,

⁷ *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, p. 56.

⁸ See *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, *The Treasure of the Magi*, and *Early Zoroastrianism*, all by Professor James Hope Moulton.

and must not be surprised at lack of clarity, and even at what seem to us to be contradictions, in this rugged Prophet of the out-of-doors. Was the teaching of Zoroaster dualistic? Undoubtedly, in Zoroaster's mind the forces of righteousness and the forces of evil are engaged in an irreconcilable conflict, which can only be ended in the complete victory of what is true and noble and upright. Even more than this, he holds that there is a personal spirit of evil, Angra Mainyu (Ahriman), who in the beginning chose evil as his portion and who now creates evil to oppose the good which exists in the world. This being, Angra Mainyu, is the negative counterpart of Spenta Mainyu, which is the special name of Ahura Mazda as creator. So, Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu are even called "twins, inasmuch as they do not exist independently, but each in relation to the other; they meet in the higher unity of Ahura Mazda."⁹ It is very easy to see how a thoroughgoing dualism can be attributed to Zoroaster, but the point which Professor Moulton insists on time and again is "the uniqueness of the Creator as the central feature of the faith."¹⁰ Others like Professor A. V. Williams Jackson emphasize the ever-present dualism as being more significant than the monotheism, in the teaching of Zoroaster himself. But even he speaks of the "quasi-monotheism in Zoroastrian dualism," especially in the affirmation of the faith of a "single great Primal Cause." It is a difficult problem at best. Another scholar, Professor Haug, looks on "Zoroaster's theology as monotheism, his speculative philosophy as dualism."¹¹

Ethically Zoroaster was a dualist, all are agreed on that. But at the same time he tends strongly to monotheism, believing in Ahura Mazda as the sole creator and sustainer of the universe. The evidence is not clear, but this would seem to represent the thought of Zoroaster better than the view that he looked upon the personal creator of evil in the world as equal and co-ordinate with the creator of good.

⁹ J. H. Moulton, *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, p. 67.

¹⁰ *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 122.

¹¹ See *Zoroastrian Studies*, A. V. Williams Jackson, pp. 31-5.

This religion is on a high level because it gives the rightful place to morality in religion, such as has rarely been surpassed. To have coming down through its history such unfailing emphasis on "good thoughts, good words, good deeds," is to raise that faith and its founder to an eminent position among the world's religions. And, as Professor Moulton has said, "It is a tribute to national character that all evil should be summed up in the she-devil 'Deceit.'"¹² But at the same time Zoroaster's limitations are very evident. He was a stern prophet, unmellowed by the thought of God's love and mercy. These titles are not found among the Amesha Spenta, the personified qualities of the god he worshiped. The final victory in the universe will without question be a victory of the good—this is an essential element in all his teaching. His paradise is ethical and only the pure in heart may enter, but there is little hope for the sinner. He must cross from this world to the next over "The Bridge of the Separator," which was "broad for the righteous, narrow as a razor for the wicked, who fall off it into hell."¹³ A man determines his own destiny, and as he is wicked or good goes to hell or heaven when he dies. It is very simple, but even here there is a forward look, to a kind of messianic age with Saoshyant, a Saviour to come, who will usher in a period of "Renovation" here in this world when all evil will be overcome and goodness will reign among men. Yes, Zoroastrianism is a dualism, but not a final dualism. Doctor Dhalla, himself a Parsi high priest, declares: "Bowing before Ahura Mazda, Angra Mainyu will hide himself with the demons in the earth. Evil will forthwith vanish and with it will disappear all evil propensities in man."¹⁴ And, of course, in the whole universe itself the one good God, Ahura Mazda, will be completely victorious.

DEVELOPMENT SINCE ZOROASTER

We do not know what might have occurred had a succession of prophets arisen in the spirit of the great Zoroaster, but

¹² *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, p. 66.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁴ *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 183.

there were none. We are hampered by not knowing the condition of the religion during the reigns of the Achaemenides, who ruled Persia from 558 to 331 B. C. Tradition asserts that the kings were confirmed Zoroastrians, but of this we cannot be sure. Not until the time of the Sassanids, who ruled from 226 to 641 A. D., did the kingdom settle down again and the land have rest. These centuries, the period of the "great kings," were glorious days for the religion of Zoroaster, when with the revival of the faith a missionary spirit was developed and the teachings of the Prophet were carried to regions as far distant as China. But with all this it was not the undiluted religion of its founder. It did not take long for polytheism to find its way back when there was no longer a Zoroaster to keep burning the flame of reforming zeal.

The changes which were introduced into the religion are accounted for by Professor Moulton, in large measure at least, by referring them to the Magi. He looks upon the Magi as an indigenous non-Aryan tribe who lived in western Persia and who, when they came in contact with the Zoroastrians, succeeded in winning a place for themselves as the priests of the people. Much remains to be investigated in order to clear up the uncertainties still adhering to the history of the earlier periods, but we do know that the Magi were the priests and exercised control over the faith during the later centuries. They are known by their adherence to astrology, divination, and the practice of magic, which, by the way, derives its name from them, *magic* from *Magi*. All this was alien to the spirit of the master and indicates a serious declension from the high level of his teachings. "They hardened the prophet's profound adumbrations of truth into a mechanical system of dogma, therein showing the usual skill of priests in preserving the letter and destroying the spirit."¹⁵

These men carried the ethical dualism of Zoroaster back into their theology. Instead of continuing to place Ahura Mazda over the whole creation, the one supreme Lord above all, they

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

made "a systematic division of the world between Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu." All the angels of the one had demonic counterparts of the other. Even the Amesha Spenta, who had become fully developed and distinct archangels in the meantime, had their corresponding fiends in the realm of evil. So the god of righteousness and the god of evil divided the universe between them, each equally powerful and each having had his part in the original creation of the world. It must be said, however, that even in this theory at the end Ahura Mazda was to be completely victorious over Angra Mainyu. The good was to conquer and the evil would be finally overthrown. Men were to choose which side they would take in the conflict, and so the ethical note was retained intact. But the keen edge of Zoroaster's moral insistence was dulled by the precise ceremonial regulations which were embodied in the Vendidad, the priestly code of the religion. The dualism of clean and unclean was carried to a ridiculous extreme, until the whole of life was dominated by ideas of ceremonial purity and cleanness. The moral factor was swamped under the ceremonial. The elements of fire, earth, and water were considered sacred, and many rules were laid down to preserve them pure and uncontaminated. The religious life was reduced in large measure to overnice refinements and scrupulous care to avoid pollution.

At two points the Magi sought to introduce practices which were utterly strange to the people. In one they succeeded and in the other they failed. The method of disposal of the dead among the Zoroastrians is to place the bodies on a framework of iron within a low circular tower and there allow them to be stripped of their flesh by vultures which await with avidity the uncovering of the bodies to begin their gruesome work. The purpose of this strange custom is to avoid the pollution of the earth and fire either by burial or cremation. It was adopted by the Zoroastrians and remains to this day one of the most marked peculiarities of their ceremonial. Wherever there is a Parsi community of sufficient size to justify their presence these Dakhmas, or "Towers of Silence," are to be found, built in beautiful groves where vultures are always near at hand, wait-

ing for their legitimate prey. The burial of the bones after they have been picked clean is not supposed to pollute the earth in which they find their resting place. The other practice which the Magi desired to introduce and failed in doing was marriage between the closest relatives. This was considered by the Magi as "a religious duty of the most extravagant sanctity."¹⁶ Fortunately, it did not approve itself to the good sense of the people, and although it is frequently mentioned in the Avesta, it is utterly repudiated by the modern Parsis.

The statement was made that other gods besides Ahura Mazda were reintroduced. Zoroaster came into a land where the great nature gods of the Aryans were worshiped. He sought in his reformation to banish these forever as unworthy of man's reverence, but upon the ascendancy in the religion of men who had not risen to his high idealism back they came again and found a place in the hearts and worship of the people. And yet even here Ahura Mazda is still first among the gods. And never from the beginning until the present has any image ever been made of the object of worship. The symbol of the Supreme Deity is fire. The Zoroastrians have been called fire-worshippers, but it is quite certain that this is a misconception. The fire is the visible emblem or symbol of divinity and is revered so highly as such that it is not to be wondered at that they have actually been called fire-worshippers. But this they have the right to disclaim.

In the *Yashts*, or "Songs of Praise" of the later *Avesta*, poems are dedicated to a number of gods, some of whose names sound quite familiar: "Mithra, Anahita, Tishtrya, Haoma, and the Fravashis."¹⁷ Not only so, but in places even the sublime Ahura Mazda is found in a position lower than some of these divinities, and even offering them worship. And the case is not materially helped when these old gods of paganism are looked upon as "angels." A change of names does not change their nature, and they remain pagan still. As the idea of the gods declined so did the idea of prayer to them. Prayer became the

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

¹⁷ *The Treasure of the Magi*, p. 87.

repetition of formulae which possessed power by their mere repetition, whether the words were understood by the worshiper or not. The old religion with its pure and elevated outlook was not completely lost by the incoming of these alien elements, but it has been so encrusted over by features foreign to its original genius that it is with difficulty that the modern Parsi is able to disengage himself from the accretions and return to the conceptions and practices of the holy Prophet he so enthusiastically venerates.

THE PARSIS OF THE PRESENT DAY

On December 10, 1916, the Parsis celebrated the twelve hundredth anniversary of their landing in India. The exact date and circumstances of the coming of these "Pilgrim Fathers of Zoroastrianism" may be more or less a legend, but what we do know is that when the conquering Islamic armies swept over Persia and most of the inhabitants turned Mohammedan, a group of faithful men and women made their escape from the country and settled in India. Not all, however, did so. A small number who did not deny the faith remained in Persia and have retained their identity until the present day. Known as Gabars and numbering about ten thousand, this small remnant eke out a rather unenviable existence in Central Persia. Until the end of the eighteenth century this community was regarded by the Parsis of India as possessing a certain authority over them in view of their residence in the ancient seat of their holy faith, but even this acknowledgment is now a thing of the past and there is little hope of any future for these upholders of the ancient traditions.

But even the main body of Parsis in India would seem to be only a remnant, the memory of a departed glory. The contrast is striking between a proud nation whose established religion was Zoroastrianism and the little community of exiles in India jealous of their faith and guarding it carefully against compromise with any other religion. The total number is about a hundred thousand, one half of whom make their home in Bombay. The others are scattered in small groups, only one of

which exceeds five thousand souls, in a score of cities throughout India. In many ways it is the most distinguished community in India. Highly educated and wealthy they not only care for their own poor, but are generous in their gifts to public enterprises. Their palaces are among the showplaces in Bombay. But with all this they are exceedingly clannish. Contrary to the theory which prevailed as late as the sixteenth century, the Parsis are now opposed to any extension of their faith to other nations or among the alien peoples by whom they are surrounded. It has in recent years been a subject of hot controversy whether the foreign wife of a Parsi might be admitted to the worship in the Fire-temples and be considered one with them in the faith. The decision up to the present has been against even so slight a lowering of the bars. What is to become of such a small and exclusive company of people is a question they are being compelled to ask ever more seriously. The danger of inbreeding faces them, and the postponement of the age of marriage, which has come with their contact with the West and the more strenuous conditions of modern life, bodes ill for the permanence of a community which has taken so exclusive an attitude.

The priesthood in Zoroastrianism is very important. The Mobeds, as the priests of the Fire-temples are called, are essential to the conduct of the ceremonial and the upkeep of the sacred fire. The order of priests is hereditary, and at their head in each great temple is the high priest, or Dastur. Unfortunately, the priesthood in general is not worthy of the community in education and intelligence. There are some learned priests, but most of them are incapable of the leadership the people have a right to expect. The very training which the neophytes must undergo is not calculated to fit them for understanding and dealing with the difficult problems of the present day. They must be able to repeat from memory the whole of the *Yasna*, the oldest and most important part of the *Avesta*, but in a language which they do not understand. Is there any wonder the priesthood as a profession has little appeal today for

young men who may be in line for the office, but can feel no incentive to such a career?

The most important function they are called upon to perform is the care of the fire in the temples. This is the very center of the cult, and most elaborate are the precautions taken that the purity of the flame may not be endangered. Only Parsis are allowed entrance into the inner precincts of the temple, where the urn containing the fire stands upon a stone pedestal. "Religious Parsis visit the Fire-temple almost daily, and on four days of each month, those sacred to Atar (3d, 9th, 17th, and 20th), there is a very large attendance. There is no distinction between men and women in their worship. Arrived at the temple, the worshiper washes the uncovered parts, and recites the *Kusti* prayer. Then he passes through the outer hall, goes barefoot through the inner hall to the threshold of the room where the fire burns, and recites his prayers standing. Only the priest is in the room itself. He receives from the worshiper sandalwood and a piece of money, and brings him ashes from the urn in a ladle, which he applies to his forehead and eyelashes. After his prayers he retires backward to the place where he left his shoes, and goes home."¹⁸

Besides the Fire-temple, which is for the living, each Parsi community must have a Dakhma, one of the Towers of Silence, for the disposal of the dead. Since vultures are so essential to the carrying out of the ritual, it can readily be seen that the community must be of some size to be able to dispose of their dead in this fashion and not take the body to another and larger settlement of their fellow religionists. In all there are about sixty of these towers, mostly, of course, in Western India. The ideas of purity and impurity held by the Parsis come to a climax in their ideas of the impurity connected with death. The ceremonial is carefully planned to obviate the pollution which would otherwise adhere to anything connected with the last rites. The professional corpse-bearers are a class set apart from their fellows because of the contamination they are unable to

¹⁸ J. H. Moulton, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

avoid and which they cannot completely rid themselves of despite frequent ablutions. And so from the time of death until the vultures have done their work a constant watchfulness is maintained through a long series of ceremonials to ward off the dangerous influences which are now hovering so near. Not only so, but frequently, especially at such times as initiation into the community on the part of the young, marriage, and the birth of children, elaborate ceremonies, largely magical in nature, are performed. With all the intelligence now to be found among the Parsis these ceremonies, many of them extravagant and exceedingly puerile, have not lost their hold. They are still bound down by a tradition from which many would be free.

In addition to the handicap of small and even dwindling numbers the Parsi community is rent by serious disagreement in belief. There are the conservatives, who are vigorously opposed to any change and would have everything remain as it is now. At the other extreme are the radicals, who are anxious for the future and can see no hope unless drastic reforms are introduced. And between the two are all varieties of opinion both liberal and conservative. There is also the tendency to rationalize the faith. When this has been done with vigor, as by Mr. H. T. Bhabha, the president of the Fourth Zoroastrian Conference, held in 1913, the result, put in his own words, is as follows: "It is singularly free from dogmas, and is so simple in its tenets that it differs but little from Unitarianism or Rationalism."¹⁹ These more radical reformers are not adverse to the admission of converts, but even they want only a few. They are afraid of being swamped by the admission of those of another race who cannot share their hereditary pride and cannot be counted on to uphold unswervingly the ancient and distinctive traditions of the community. The reformers also have in their program the use of prayers in a living language, the abolition of meaningless ceremonials and of prayers for the dead, and the mitigation of certain ceremonial restrictions placed on

¹⁹ Quoted in *The Treasure of the Magi*, p. 174.

women, particularly at childbirth. One other tendency is at work and this in the direction of theosophy. Dabbling in the occult and reaching out after contacts with the spirit-world have affected the Parsis as similar gropings do in the West, in disintegrating interest in genuine religion and magnifying the importance of the physical in the attempt to reach the spiritual.

But, after all, we cannot wonder that there should be a sense of want and need among the Parsis. Their religion at best lacks completeness; there is no adequate doctrine of salvation. A leading Parsi, Doctor Jivanji Modi, says: "A Parsee has to believe that for the salvation of his soul he has to look to nobody else, but to himself. Nobody—no priest, or no prophet—will intercede for him. For his salvation he has only to look to the purity of his own thoughts, words, and actions. . . . Think of nothing but the truth, speak nothing but the truth, and do nothing but what is proper, and you are saved."²⁰ A stern religion with a high moral code and the example of a most vigorous champion of righteousness in their great prophet, it has failed to provide for mercy and sacrifice, tenderness and love, and by this failure has made it impossible for it to be a religion with a wide appeal to the needy men and women.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times* (New York, second edit., 1935), Chap. VIII.

James Hope Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi* (London, 1917). The best handbook on the entire subject.

James Hope Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (London, 1913). A most important study by a master.

A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1901). All that is known about the prophet is found here.

A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies* (New York, 1928).

George Foot Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. I, Chaps. XV, XVI.

M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology* (New York, 1914). A detailed study by a highly educated Parsi high priest.

Nathan Söderblom, *The Living God* (London, 1933). Chap. VI.

²⁰ Quoted in *The Treasure of the Magi*, pp. 205f.

CHAPTER VII

HINDUISM

THE RELIGION OF THE VEDAS

ONE of the two branches of the Aryan offshoot of the Indo-European peoples migrated, as we have seen, into Persia. The other, traveling southeastward, found the passes leading through the great mountain barrier and emerged on the plains of northern India. They must have settled first on the banks of the Indus, which means "river," or "flood," so they spoke of their new home as "the land of the Indus," from which comes the name "India." In all probability they did not come at any one time, but straggled into the new country in smaller or larger groups during hundreds of years. Some would say that they were still arriving about 1500 B. C., while others would place their arrival much earlier, even 2000 or 2500 B. C. Coming down into northern India, these Aryans spread out fanlike over the Punjab, or region of the "five rivers," and then, as the years passed, slowly extended their settlements to the south and east, taking possession of the rich Ganges Valley as they advanced. A picture of these "tall, fair people" is given by J. N. Farquhar: "They were then soldier-farmers, equally used to the plow and the sword. They were constantly at war with the aborigines around them; and they looked eagerly for sunshine and rain to mature their crops and give them fodder for their cattle and herds. They were still a primitive people, living in simple villages, with but few of the arts of civilization, and untrammelled by the bonds of caste. They had no writing and no coinage. They ate beef and drank intoxicating drink. The tribes lived each under its own chieftain, and now and then quarrels led to war among them. The family was still in a healthy condition. Their women had a great deal of freedom throughout their lives. There was no child-marriage among them, no seclusion in the zenana, no widow-burning, and no

law against the remarriage of widows. Like most primitive peoples, they practiced the exposure of girl children and old people."¹

India has a great literature, almost entirely religious. The absence of works on history, however, is a very great drawback in attempting to trace the course of events. During the last thirty years, where historical records have failed, archaeology has made a surprising revelation. It had been thought that civilization began with the coming of the Aryan through the northwest passes. Now, however, archaeological research has revealed a culture which existed in the Indus Valley fifteen hundred years before the arrival of the Aryan. At Mohenjo-daro, and at other sites, the remains of a civilization as far advanced as that in Mesopotamia have been exposed to view, a culture resembling that of Babylonia and Elam. We do not know much about their religion. It is a civilization like that of the Mayas in Yucatan in that it is dead and gone. For the most part it was very different from that of the Aryans, and yet it is believed to "contain the germs of much that was to play a great part in the life of the people of India."²

They brought with them a religion in many features similar to that of the Persians when Zoroaster inaugurated his reformation. But soon they began to develop features quite different and very much their own. Our knowledge of their beliefs and practices is based on a collection of hymns known as the *Rigveda*. These hymns, or "praises," were composed during a long period and were committed to memory for use at the sacrifices. There were over a thousand of them, which were finally written down in Sanskrit and preserved as a single collection. In some ways this collection is the most remarkable body of religious literature which has come down out of the far distant past. All the gods whose praises are sung are nature deities, divided into three groups with eleven gods in each group. They are the gods of the celestial regions, those of the earth, and those of the atmosphere between earth and sky. Of the

¹ *A Primer of Hinduism*, pp. 21f.

² See *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, Chap. I.

gods of the high heavens three may be noted here: Mitra, who as Mithras we have met in Persia and in the last stages of Roman paganism; Vishnu, who in a later day assumed an importance in Indian religion which he had not known in the earlier period; and finally the great god Varuna. According to Barth, "Varuna is the god of the vast luminous heavens, viewed as embracing all things, and as the primary source of all life and every blessing."³ The possibilities lying in the conception of this god might have raised Hinduism to a far nobler level than has been attained. Varuna was not only sublime in his majesty and power, but was the judge of men's hearts and the exemplar of nobility and truth and uprightness, who expected the same of the beings under his sway. But, most unfortunately, these possibilities were not realized and Hinduism suffers today because Varuna and what he stood for have been virtually discarded and other gods representative of far different ideals fill the minds and dominate the lives of its adherents.

There were three important gods of the earth, namely, Agni, Soma, and Yama. Agni is fire, that of the lightning and the sun as well as that we make use of every day. As the flame ascends and seems to be traveling toward the purified abode of the gods fire was early looked upon as a priest conveying sacrifices to the gods. Many high functions in human life and even in creation have devolved upon this god, but in all the various forms of service to which he has been assigned Agni has always remained just the material fire with which we are familiar. Soma is the name of an Indian plant, now unknown, and the fermented juice which was extracted from it. It is intoxicating and therefore divine, thought these early Aryans. They were possessed of a spirit not their own when under the influence of the Soma, and their only explanation was that it must come from the gods. Here is suggested to us the origin of our term "ardent spirits," which literally take possession of the man who has imbibed freely. But Soma also has a celestial

³ *The Religions of India*, p. 16.

reference and is supposed to flow in the invisible world as well as on the earth. The gods themselves attained immortality by drinking the Soma, and so will men when they drink the life-giving potion with Yama in the land of the blessed. Again here, as in the case of Agni, the physical character of the god is never lost. Soma remains until the end, and in spite of the idealizing process, the juice of the soma plant. Yama might have lived an immortal, but he chose to die. He thus was the first to cross the dreaded flood from which none return. The dead who have lived nobly go to him. Not much is said about the wicked, who perish or continue to exist "in dark and dismal pits" with demons and other evil spirits.

Indra, an atmospheric god, and Ushas, of the upper sky, are also important. Of all the gods of the Rigveda Indra takes the first place as the national god of the Aryans. He is the "king of heaven," the warrior who gives victory to his people, and at the same time he is the giver of good and the author and preserver of life. Indra not only fights *with* the people when they are engaged in war, but fights *for* them with his faithful companions, the Maruts, the "bright ones," the gods of storm and lightning. Intoxicated with Soma, he rides among the clouds, striking his enemies with thunderbolts. When it is remembered that it is to the atmosphere the people of India must look not only for prosperity but for life itself, it can be seen quite readily how Indra, the god who defeats the enemies who would prevent the breaking of the monsoon with its copious rains, would be lifted up and idealized until he became their great champion and protector. Ushas is a charming goddess, "the lady Dawn." She has been called "the most graceful creation of Vedic poetry."⁴ She is the only one of the female divinities of this early period of any importance. The dawn assumes a prominence among these Rigvedic hymns which makes it seem natural that it should be personalized in a divine being of "delicate feminine beauty." Ushas drives away the darkness

⁴ Quoted by H. D. Griswold, *The Religion of the Rigveda*, p. 244. This authoritative volume is most valuable for the Vedic period of Indian religion.

of the night with its nightmares and fears and malignant spirits and "opens the gates of heaven," letting in the light and disclosing the earth in all its beauty. Men rise from their sleep when she touches their eyes and awakes them to the morning sacrifice and to their daily tasks.

When one reads the hymns of the *Rigveda*, he is confused by the manner in which the qualities of one god are ascribed to another so that the lines of demarcation between them become hazy and indistinct. This tendency to fuse and assimilate the gods and their functions was the beginning of a long process which continued until it led into the pantheism which is so characteristic a feature of later Indian thought. The Indian mind even at this early date was beginning to feel out after a unity in which there should be no distinctions, and, though the fully developed theory was not completed for many centuries, the tendency begins to make itself evident very early. One is also struck in these hymns by the ascriptions of praise to one and then another of these divine beings, just as if each god were for the time being the sole god of the universe. Many gods are worshiped, but each at times in a more or less exclusive manner. The theology oscillates between polytheism and an approach toward monotheism. It is one form of *henotheism* (also called *monolatry*), the worship of one god without rejecting other gods, who may be worshiped at other times as needs and occasions may require. Professor Max Müller gave it a special name, *kathenotheism*, the worship of "one god at a time." The worshiper seemed a bit uneasy. He had inherited many gods, with various functions, to provide him with needed care and protection, but he was not satisfied. The desire for unity was beginning to assert itself, making the worship of a variety of gods seem incongruous. With this beginning and by a very natural process among so thoughtful a people as these Aryans the conception changed and developed until all the gods came to be looked upon as manifestations only, manifestations of a primal essence behind and inclusive of them all. We have anticipated somewhat, but have done so in order to call attention thus early to the tendency which can only be understood,

it is true, by following the development to its final issue, but which begins to betray itself in the earliest movements of Indian thought.

The worship of the gods was largely sacrificial. Animals were offered in increasing numbers as the centuries passed until the land ran red with blood by the time Buddhism rose in the sixth and fifth centuries before our era. There were also elaborate rites connected with the offering of the soma and of ghi, or clarified butter. There were no temples and no images in the earliest day, the worship being conducted in the open air. Priests were in evidence very early, and as the sacrifices became more elaborate they increased their hold until in the end their grip on the people of India was about as complete as one could imagine. The theory was very simple. Sacrifice was looked upon as absolutely necessary, and the efficacy of the sacrifice depended, not upon moral fitness, nor even upon the sincerity of the worshiper, but upon the correctness with which the ritual of the sacrifice was performed. This was believed implicitly by all the people high and low. In the earliest day the father was the priest of his family, but as the theory of sacrifice developed, it became increasingly difficult for him to find time to master the ritual on which the fortunes of the family depended. The priest took his place and performed the ceremonies for him. They made themselves experts in religion, masters of ceremony and ritual, and thus became indispensable to the people. Nothing could be done without them. They dominated life and exercised their sway with ever-increasing severity. These priestly Brahmins, as they were called, came to occupy a unique position, wielding the mightiest power in the land. Jealous of their position, they separated themselves more and more from the other classes and were looked upon and treated as superior beings, veritable gods on earth.

The theory of the efficacy of sacrifice was carried so far that sacrifice was looked upon as irresistible. Thus the whole system became impregnated with magic. The sacrifice became more important than the being to whom it was offered. The carrying out of the ritual with minute exactness would bring about

the desired end with little reference to the will of the god who was addressed. This, of course, did not tend to exalt the gods, but it did result in further enhancing the authority of the divine priesthood which could perform such wonders. It was even said that the gods themselves had attained their present position by sacrifice, and so it followed that it was not beyond the range of possibility for mortal men now to reach the same goal. And in India theories do not remain mere theories, but are put into action, and men give themselves to all forms of religious practices and austerities in order to attain divinity at the end of their self-imposed regimen.

We have referred to the *Rigveda* as the earliest literary product of the Indian mind, but it was only the beginning. Even before the rise of Buddhism the literature had grown considerably. In addition to the *Rigveda* is the *Samaveda*, an arrangement of verses from the *Rigveda* for use at the Soma sacrifice, and the *Yajurveda*, a collection of prose selections and verses from the *Rigveda* for use in the ritual, both based on the original *Rigveda*, which was by far the greatest of the collections. Finally, at a much later date, the *Atharvaveda*, a collection of magical formulae, was added to the others, thus making the fourth of the famous *Vedas*. By this time the heights of the *Rigveda* had been left far behind and lower conceptions were filling the minds of priests and people. In 1859 Max Müller suggested that 1200 to 1000 B. C. was the latest period he could allow for the composition of the original Vedic hymns and that the various collections were formed within the next two hundred years. Scholars now are tending to re-establish these dates, rejecting theories that the development took a much longer period.⁵ In addition to all these and appended to the *Vedas* were priestly writings called the *Brahmanas*, which purport to give the inner meaning of the sacrifices and direct the priests in their performance, but which are, at least to outsiders, an arid waste of irrational theorizing with no inspiration or uplift about them.

⁵ J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 17.

THE PHILOSOPHIC DEVELOPMENT

When the Aryans came into India, they possessed no belief in the doctrine of transmigration, yet it is one of the basic doctrines among Hindus today. Where did they get it? The subject is obscure, but possibly the idea was suggested by contact with the aboriginal population into the midst of which they were thrown. While the Aryans came more and more to dominate the religious life of the country of their adoption, they unconsciously absorbed many of the ideas of the primitive Dravidians. One of these may have been transmigration. The theory is that when a man dies his soul, or his essence, leaves the dying body and enters the body of some animal or human being as it comes into the world to begin its career. And the process may be repeated generation after generation times without number.

While the theory doubtless came to the Aryan invaders in a very crude form, the keen minds of the thinkers among them would not allow it to rest, but worked it out to its logical conclusion and made it a part of their growing philosophical system. The law which determined the operation of transmigration was the law of Karma. Now, "Karma" means "action" or "deed," but it refers to such actions or deeds in one life as work out their results in the next life and the next and so on until their force has been entirely spent. According to our Karma, we are born into a new life well or strong, good or bad, rich or poor. It is a kind of reward or retribution as the case may be working itself out automatically and inevitably in existence after existence. There is absolutely no escape from the clutches of this inexorable law. All we can hope for is not to add to our Karma, so that when what we have inherited is finally exhausted there will be no more fuel to keep the fire burning. The fuel consists of deeds—any deeds, good or bad—which stimulate life. To live then—just to live, whether nobly or dishonorably, it makes little difference—is an evil with a most unfortunate entail for the future. If we might only cease from doing deeds, from any activity, and simply exist

with no attachments to life, we should be on the way to emancipation. But it is exceedingly difficult and cannot even be begun without devoting one's whole mind to that end. The ascetic who gives himself to various kinds of cruel austerities and would thereby cut the cords of desire which bind him fast to life and its joys and sorrows, is on the way to salvation, and at some time, it may be millenniums ahead, will have exhausted his Karma and be thus set free from the necessity of further transmigrations. The importance of the doctrine of transmigration cannot be overestimated. In the words of the Hindu Professor Govinda Das, "This is the famous doctrine of transmigration on which all our philosophy of life is based."⁶ He also says, "This law of Karma, as a man sows so he reaps, is the keystone of the arch over which has been built up, through the course of ages, the vast edifice of Hinduism."⁷ To be saved from the endless succession of births and deaths is what religion is for Hindus. It seems almost hopeless, so deathlike is the grip of this theory on the mind of the people, but in one way or another, by works, by meditation, by the attitude of devotion or faith, they struggle on with the hope of breaking the chain at some time in the distant future.

While all this was being developed and was becoming the common property of the Aryan community in India, another and deeper movement was in progress. Certain men of intelligence and deep earnestness, dissatisfied with the current explanations and the crude materialism of the sacrificial system, made the attempt to penetrate deeper into the meaning of life and its problems, and in the end arrived at astonishing conclusions. Appended to the *Brahmanas* are to be found a group of writings called *Aranyakas*, or teachings "belonging to the forest." They were written by men who, leaving the society of ordinary people, went off into the forest and gave themselves to meditation and austerities. The results of their thinking are to be found in the *Upanishads*, which are embedded in the *Aranyakas* and are sometimes a little difficult to distinguish

⁶ *Hinduism*, p. 214.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

from them. These philosophical writings embody the fundamental principles of Hindu thinking even down to the present day.

We must look a little more closely at these writings. They are very obscure, probably intentionally so. They embody esoteric teaching, secret doctrine, which is only for those who can go to a teacher for its interpretation. Nor do they present a definite system. They are "anticipations rather than completions of doctrine; they are inspirational rather than dogmatic."⁸ The *Upanishads* stand midway between the Vedic hymns and *Brahmanas* and the finished system of the greatest exponent of the Vedanta, Sankara. Life has become more difficult and complex since the joyous free days of the *Rigveda*. The zest of life is gone; there is a sadder, more wistful mood. It is expressed in a refrain found in one of the *Upanishads*, "Lead me from darkness into light, from the unreal to the Real." The tendency is strongly toward unity, "the identification of the human spirit and the divine." This identification is the *summum bonum*, the one supreme end of existence.

The gods and other spiritual beings were not eternal, but only the temporary manifestations of this one Absolute. The souls of men were "sparks from the central fire, drops from the ocean of divinity," to be incarnated times without number, according to the law of Karma, but in the end to find release and drop back into the boundless ocean from which they came. The only eternal, unquestionable fact in the universe is Brahman, the World-soul, and the conclusion was reached that the Atman, or individual human soul, was identical with it. "Myself is the infinite self" and "The soul of the universe, whole and undivided, dwells in me," are two of the many ways in which this identity was expressed. Probably the most used phrase is "Thou art That," also "I am Brahman," and "I am He."⁹ The object of life for these thinkers was to realize the truth of these affirmations. Salvation was to be attained by intuition, by a sudden flash of insight, which would drive away the darkness

⁸ W. S. Urquhart, *The Vedanta and Modern Thought*, p. 22.

⁹ Quoted from J. N. Farquhar, *Primer of Hinduism*, p. 48.

and leave the man possessed of this liberating thought. Should he achieve this insight by the power of his intellect after profound meditation, concentrating his whole mind on this one thought, he was free. Austerities were of no further use; he had broken the bond which held him fast to the wheel of transmigration and he would not be born again. He was free forever; the release was complete and final.

We must look a little more closely at this Absolute Being, Brahman. Farquhar says that Brahman is "a neuter noun which expresses the common thought of the time, that the world-soul is an impersonal essence present in all things."¹⁰ So enthusiastic were the forest thinkers over their "find" that they could not restrain themselves in their rapture. Brahman is to them everything good and desirable, the aim of all their longing. But when Brahman is described and an attempt made to state the qualities and attributes involved in the conception, the result is most disappointing. Nothing positive can be affirmed; it must all be in negatives. Of each positive characteristic the only word is, He is not that. It is only by accommodation that Brahman is called "he" at all. He is impersonal, the word "Brahman" is neuter, so the more appropriate term would be "it." But even more serious is the impossibility of thinking of Brahman as holy or righteous. He is presented as a being far beyond the distinction between right and wrong. That would lower him, so it was claimed, and bring him down to the level of human frailty and finiteness. But the sad fact is that any attempt to posit a being for whom ethical distinctions do not exist is to bring him down to a level lower than the one we human beings occupy. Such a conception has no power to raise men to heights of moral endeavor beyond the natural desires of the human heart. This philosophical theory has crippled Hinduism through all the years and holds out little promise for the future when India needs all the moral and spiritual strength she can obtain for the task of national reconstruction which is before her.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

The philosophic development which we have been considering was not completed for centuries after the writing of the *Upanishads*, which occurred before 500 B. C. We know little of what took place during a long period. Writings entitled *Vedanta Sūtras* appeared which are in the same line of development with the *Upanishads* but which are less rigorously monistic. Finally Sankara appeared, born, it is said, in South India in the year 788 A. D. He and his work are of supreme importance. He has been called "the most towering personality of Hinduism in its renaissance period."¹¹ He wrote commentaries on the *Vedanta Sūtras*, though his position is more nearly that of the monism of the *Upanishads* than the loose doctrine of the *Sūtras*. The system of which he was the supreme teacher is called the Vedanta, the "end" or "aim" of the Veda. Sankara went to the utmost limit and set forth an unqualified monism. This had been presented before, but never asserted so unwaveringly. He not only refused to recognize anything as real except Brahman; he declared that the world and all things in it were only *maya*—illusion. This is an important but baffling conception. Our immediate consciousness of individual identity and of the reality of the world around us is due to ignorance. That which is essential for us human beings is to rid ourselves of the fatal misconception and realize that there is nothing else in existence except the one absolute All and that we ourselves are that All. But in addition to his uncompromising monism Sankara was willing to allow, as a makeshift for those who could not rise to the "higher" truth, certain of the current doctrines about the gods, always maintaining that they were only manifestations of the great Brahman and not themselves real. As soon as one could reach the higher levels he would see that these too were illusive and could give no final satisfaction.

The system of Vedanta as taught by Sankara, with its attempt to deny the reality of the world altogether, was not accepted by all. Other religious leaders, like Ramanuja (about 1100 A. D.), approach more nearly a theistic position, holding

¹¹ See W. S. Urquhart, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

that Brahman has definite and positive characteristics, like intelligence and goodness, and is not utterly unapproachable by his children, who are real beings and not the mere "shadow of a dream." This teacher found reality in individual souls and in nonintelligent matter as well as in a supreme being, God. He even held that the soul of man possesses freedom and will not lose its separate individuality in the hereafter. But Sankara won out in India, not Ramanuja. The characteristic philosophy of India is the Vedanta of Sankara.

Not only was there a considerable measure of difference in the Vedanta tradition, but other philosophies arose, one of which in particular was utterly different from the Vedanta. In the Sankhya system we have a fundamental dualism. There is a primary active substance, called Prakriti, and also many individual souls, called Purusha, which are eternal and distinct like the primary substance itself. Here salvation is attained by insight, as in the case of the Vedanta, but the releasing truth which dawns on the mind is that one's soul is eternally different from the active substance, instead of being eternally one with the world-soul as in the Vedanta. The system is atheistic and contains less of hope and help than the Vedanta to which it is so vigorously opposed. It has not attracted the thought of India as has its more famous rival, and needs no further exposition here.

THE CASTE SYSTEM

Hinduism is the most amorphous of all religions. Almost anything can be said of it with the assurance that it is true, and at the same time almost anything which is said may be denied, and that with good reason. Hinduism is a strange medley of different and even contradictory elements mixed together into a very irregular and uneven mass. What is it, then, which makes a man a Hindu? What is the standard of orthodoxy which may be applied to determine a man's standing in the Hindu community? One of their own students, Professor Govinda Das, of Benares, declares that it cannot be defined, for the reason that "Hinduism is absolutely *indefinite*." He

speaks of it as an "Anthropological process to which, by a strange irony of fate, the name of 'religion' has been given."¹² "It is all-comprehensive, all-absorbing, all-tolerant, all-complacent, all-compliant." He sets up as many as fifteen tests or standards, and finds that none of them are indispensable. A man may believe what he likes, do as he pleases, and follow any ritual or custom he chooses and be a Hindu. It comes down to this—that a Hindu is one "who does not repudiate that designation," or one "who says he is a Hindu, and accepts *any* of the *many* beliefs, and *follows* any of the many practices that are *anywhere* regarded as Hindu" (page 57). But among all these clues or standards there is one which is so important and so inclusive that there are those who feel that it is a valid criterion of being a Hindu. It is the caste system, the form of organization obtaining wherever Hinduism exists. To be a Hindu in almost every case means to belong to one of the castes and to obey caste regulations. Orthodoxy in Hinduism is almost universally conformity to custom, petrified in social organization.

✓ A caste is a group of people kept apart from other caste groups by regulations touching marriage, food, in some cases occupation, and also residence. Taking them in the reverse order, conformity with reference to residence, which is the least important, means that a Hindu shall not travel or reside outside India. The fact that the university centers in Europe and America attract so many Hindus clearly indicates that this rule rests lightly on those who feel impelled to seek their education abroad. Yet among the stricter families a ceremony of purification is necessary on the return from a foreign country to wash away the taint which has been incurred by travel and by association with foreigners, the men and women they have met in our colleges and universities! Without this they cannot be received back into the former fellowship in the family. But so far as the travel itself is concerned, most enlightened Hindus wink calmly at it and pay no attention to the prohibition.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

Occupation helps to determine caste in some cases. For illustration the following may be cited: the Ahirs are by tradition herdsmen; the Chamars, workers in leather; the Chuhra and one or two others, scavengers; the Goalas, milkmen; the Kayasths, writers or pen-men; the Kumhars, potters, and so on. But even in these cases not all the members of the caste follow the traditional occupation.¹³ Likewise the Brahmins constitute the priestly caste but are found widely scattered among the professions and occupations, and so of many others.

In respect of food conformity is more significant. One must not eat with a man of another caste, and frequently among the higher castes the food he eats must be prepared by a servant who belongs to the same caste. But even with respect to this regulation many a Hindu today pays scant attention to it at times. He will eat with others on a dining car and at a banquet, even though he may be scrupulously careful when he is at home. The women are more conservative and prevent the growth of more liberal ideas which the men, particularly those of intelligence, might not be adverse to introducing. At the present time, when India begins to feel the need of unity in order to build up a worthy national life, the bondage of caste becomes oppressive, and leading men feel the necessity of breaking away from the old customs and demonstrating the possibility of all Indians, Mohammedans as well as Hindus, sharing a common political and social life. Not a great deal has been accomplished, but this is the tendency, and the papers frequently report the meeting of various classes of the Indian community around the common table.

But it is at the point of marriage that caste retains its death-like grip upon the social life of India. Hindu parents are between two fires. It is a disgrace to have daughters who remain unmarried after their early teens, and yet husbands must be found within their own caste or subcaste. This rule is absolute and unbending. A Hindu may be lax in respect of food and eating with other caste men, but at this point he is like

¹³ See *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edit., Vol. I, p. 314.

adamant. He simply will not marry his children to outsiders and thus "break caste." This is the unforgivable sin in Hinduism. The problem which issues from this dilemma has led to customs which have been of untold injury to Indian life. Child marriage is an almost inevitable outcome of the necessity of finding desirable husbands and wives for all the boys and girls in the community. Thousands of marriages are consummated before children reach their teens, with physical and moral results which are deplorable. This custom, in a land of high mortality, has produced thousands of little widows and widowers. The boy may marry again, and usually does so, but the poor girl—her story is the saddest of all the suffering little women in the world. She is held responsible for the death of her husband, and as a criminal her hair is shaved off and her dearly loved ornaments are taken away and she is dressed in a coarse garment and becomes the drudge of the family. She may not remarry, but remains until the end of her life a poor miserable soul—unless, of course, she is the mother of sons. This lifts her to a position of honor from which she cannot be completely displaced. The most commendable thing for the widow to do until comparatively recent times was to mount the funeral pyre and be burned to death with the body of her husband; and, willingly or unwillingly, this horrible custom, called *sati*, or *suttee*, was carried out many thousands of times before the British government put a stop to it in 1829. Many of the measures of reform which are being urged by the government and intelligent Hindus have as their object the raising of the age of marriage and the relief of widows by allowing their remarriage. But with all that wise reformers may say and do the mass of the people still cling to the old customs, and women still suffer from the disability of inferiority. The day of woman's emancipation has begun, but the road to the goal is a long and difficult one. The sad and discouraging fact is that the enforced subjection of woman is an integral part of the religion and moral code which have come down out of the ages. These customs are embedded in their sacred literature and have been

enunciated by their great religious leaders from time immemorial.

No theory of the origin of caste is completely satisfactory. We do not know the exact number of castes and subcastes. We may get some clues to help us to understand the rise of the institution. The word for "caste" in Sanskrit is *varna*, which is usually translated "color." This would indicate that the Aryan as he came into India from the north was originally fair-skinned in contrast to the dark Dravidian. In their endeavor to preserve the purity of their blood and the fairness of their skin they hedged themselves around with restrictions touching their relations with the aborigines. The earliest division we have on record separates into distinct groups the priests (Brahmins), the warriors (Kshatriyas), the agriculturalists (Vaisyas), and the menial laborers (Sudras). The three mentioned first constitute the "twice-born" people, those who had the right to be initiated or be born again into the religious community. The Sudras, who are supposed to have been largely of Dravidian blood, were outsiders so far as the ceremonial and the worship of the "twice-born" were concerned. According to the theory found in the *Institutes of Manu*, the ancient book of laws and customs, the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas were born from the mouth, the arms, and the thighs, respectively, of the Supreme Soul of the Universe, while the poor Sudra proceeded from the feet and was looked upon as the menial, doing his work at the bidding of the three other orders.

But while no one has been able to give an explanation of caste which is fully convincing, the most evident fact in the whole system is the pre-eminence of the Brahmin priest. He is the vitalizing force in the system and dominates it completely. All take their cue from him. He looks upon himself as inherently superior to all the others. Was he not created different and has he not demonstrated that he is not to be classified with the common run of men? The caste system is his way of preserving his position inviolate, and he clings to it with the most serious concern. At many points he has deserved well of the people. He is rightfully recognized as the gifted leader in the

higher life of the community. But, on the other hand, having little or no sympathy with those who occupy a subordinate position, and filled with unfathomable pride, the Brahmin lords it over the consciences and wills of men and exercises a tyranny unsurpassed anywhere in the world.

Some good things may be said of caste. It engenders a certain solidarity which is of great value in the precarious conditions in which most of the people of India live. In times of distress caste acts as a labor union or a trade guild or as a relief association in giving assistance to those who otherwise would have no sense of security. There is a mutual helpfulness exercised which is good and beneficial. But the count against the system as a whole far outweighs any good which may be claimed for it. It is fundamentally divisive and stands as a strong bar against the unity which the forward-looking Hindu knows must be achieved before India can become a strong nation ready and worthy to take its place among the nations of the world. Even deeper than this, however, caste kills all sense of brotherhood. To a Hindu his "brother" is a member of his caste and no one else. He is taught to despise and look down upon the lower castes as inferior, by contact with whom he must not soil his hands. And when we come to the sixty millions of outcastes, or "untouchables," we reach a depth of human misery and degradation almost unbelievable. Their touch is polluting and their very shadow falling on the food prepared for a high-caste man renders it unfit for use. Centuries of such disdain and abuse have created a race of cringing creatures who, scorned by their own proud superiors, have lost all the self-respect they might have developed and are today among the most pitiable people in the world. They constitute one of the greatest challenges to social and religious service to be found anywhere. And yet despite their name, *outcastes*, they are a part of a religio-social system which is responsible for their present condition. It is among these people that Christian missions have done a notable work. They have proved that an outcaste is capable of an enlarged outlook and can develop self-respect and resourcefulness of a high order. One

of the best evidences of a new spirit in India is that Indian leaders are taking "untouchability" seriously and can scarcely hope to secure a wide hearing unless they include in their program measures for the uplift of these people and their social and political emancipation. In all this Mr. M. K. Gandhi has played an important and noble part.

HINDUISM SINCE THE RISE OF BUDDHISM

During the sixth century before our era Buddhism arose in northern India. As a result of the example and teachings of Gautama Buddha the whole complexion of things religious was greatly changed everywhere in India. We may not at this time trace the rise and development of the new doctrine and the new discipline which affected so profoundly the life of the Indian peoples; that will be done in the following chapter. All that is needed here is to state that Hinduism was greatly modified during the centuries when Buddhism was in the ascendancy. The period is very obscure historically, and only occasionally is light shed on the course of the religious development, and then it is the condition of Buddhism which is illumined and not Hinduism. Buddhism finally disappeared with the arrival of the Mohammedan on the scene of Indian history about the year 1000 A. D. But long before this time decay had set in and Buddhism was losing its hold. It is exceedingly doubtful whether its teachings were ever so widely and so deeply accepted that the tenure of Hinduism was really imperiled. But what is true is that as Buddhism waned Hinduism again came to its own; it was a veritable renaissance, which in the end established the supremacy of the old faith over the land, a supremacy which has been challenged only by Islam, an alien religion which has settled itself in the land and won millions of the native peoples.

The Hinduism which raised its head again after centuries of strong Buddhistic influence was not the same. The caste system remained intact and even developed, though it was not encouraged, to say the least, by the Buddha and his followers. It was too deeply ingrained and too fundamentally in line with Hindu instincts to be eliminated by the slight opposition offered

by Buddhism. The sacrificial system was more seriously modified, but here the theory remained the same; only the form was changed. Bloody sacrifices almost ceased to be offered and their place was taken in large part by cereals and flowers. We shall have occasion to note one of the exceptions to this rule, but the remarkable change is not to be minified by the relatively few instances of animal sacrifice which continued to exist. And, finally, the Hinduism which emerged after the partial eclipse of so many centuries presents a very different organization of the pantheon; it even worships a different set of gods. The same names occur, but gods who were once prominent have given place to others who held a subordinate position or to those whose names do not even occur in the ancient records.

Back in the period of the Gupta dynasty, 320-650 A. D., a movement was on foot to look upon Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva as the threefold manifestation of the Supreme, the Absolute Brahman we have met before.¹⁴ This triad, or Hindu Trimurti, has never entered deeply into the thinking of the people, though it is frequently mentioned in the religious literature, and is at times represented in sculpture in the form of a triple head on one pair of shoulders. Brahma, the first member of this trio, is looked upon as the creator, the more or less personal source of the universe and the life which it contains. He has no popular following, only one or two temples in all India being devoted to his worship. But the fact that he is looked upon as personal calls attention to the theistic tendency which has expressed itself in various forms throughout the course of Indian religious history, in spite of the popular polytheism which is to be found at every turn and the pantheism which has so widely captured the intelligence of the country.

The story of Vishnu and Siva is very different. Their wor-

¹⁴ For convenience, a difference in spelling has been introduced to distinguish the three meanings of the word frequently given as "Brahman." The spelling *Brahman* designates the neuter, impersonal All, the philosophical Absolute. *Brahma* stands for the personal creator, also called Prajapati, one of the emanations of the Supreme Brahman. *Brahmin*, which springs from the same idea and root, is used of the priests and the priestly caste.

ship constitutes the sectarianism of modern Hinduism, the people being roughly divided between the worshipers of Vishnu and the worshipers of Siva. Vishnu was one of the celestial gods in the Rigveda and was associated with Indra, with whom, however, he could not compare in importance. During the centuries Vishnu increased in dignity and greatness and took to himself some of the qualities of the great Indra himself, until in the end he easily overtopped the national god of the Aryans of a bygone age. The most marked characteristic of the worship of Vishnu is that he is not worshiped in his own person, but in that of one or another of his manifestations, or incarnations, *avatars*, in Sanskrit. Through these incarnations the worship of Vishnu absorbed many stray beliefs, even the Buddha being acknowledged as one of the avatars. According to Barth, "An Avatara . . . is the presence, at once mystic and real, of the supreme being in a human individual, who is both truly god and truly man."¹⁵ Vishnu himself was lifted higher and higher until he was finally declared to be one with the Universal Spirit, the great Preserver, and as such almost fills the place of the sole god of the Universe. Hindu thought thus fluctuates between what seem to us to be irreconcilable extremes, polytheistic, theistic and pantheistic, with comparatively little difficulty.

The most prominent of the incarnations of this great god are Rama and Krishna, heroes of the great epic poems, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, but of the two Krishna is incomparably the greater. He is probably worshiped by more people than any other god in India. Krishna is an incarnation with a very striking history. How much of it is legendary and how much sober fact, if he ever lived at all, it is exceedingly difficult to determine. He is, like Rama, a great hero, "an exterminator of monsters, a victorious warrior," but unfortunately his record is not admirable. As given in the *Puranas* he is said to have had sixteen thousand wives and a hundred and eighty thousand children, many of his days being spent in an impure round of gambols with the shepherd maidens. Spiritualize these ac-

¹⁵ *The Religions of India*, p. 170.

counts as far as some high-minded Hindu students do, the dangerous journey through such mire to reach the heights beyond is likely to stain the soul of the purest-minded reader. It is a sad plight in which popular Hinduism finds itself with its most exalted incarnation. If the great God above is anything like that, there is little hope of raising the people to a high level of honor and purity.

In connection with the worship of Vishnu arose a new doctrine, that of Bhakti, or "devotion," which is much like the Christian idea of faith and trust. It is directed by the worshiper toward one or another of these incarnations and thus provides a point of contact with the typical attitude of Christianity, that of trust in the "incarnate God." It is to be noted that the idea of Bhakti has spread widely over India and is directed today to many gods outside the bounds of Vishnu worship. The Vaishnavas, as the worshipers of Vishnu are called, are found principally in the north of India. The actual worship is performed before an image of the god or incarnation and consists of prayers and offerings. The sacrifice of animals has entirely disappeared and use is made of grain and fruit and flowers and milk.

The worshipers of Siva, or Saivites, are particularly strong in the South. In contrast with Vishnu, the Preserver, Siva is known as the Destroyer and represents the dark, cruel aspects of life. He also represents the powers of reproduction and is always symbolized in his temples by the Linga, or human phallus, instead of by an image. This idea is strongly emphasized in Siva worship, Nandi the bull being represented as an attendant of the god—a striking example of powerful passion and generative power. "Yet in South India there are daily sung to Siva hymns that for warmth of feeling have not often been excelled. . . . The god seems so unlovable, yet the Saivite saints are intoxicated with love for him, and call him Grace itself."¹⁶ With all his other attributes he becomes to them all that any of the other gods stand for, and even ravishes

¹⁶ Sydney Cave, *Redemption Hindu and Christian*, pp. 124f.

their gaze as they see in him the god of love. Both the philosopher and the peasant see in Siva the paragon of all excellence, for one the basis of an all-embracing world-view and for the other the friendly god who will be with him in trouble.

Unlike Vishnu, Siva has no incarnations, but he is not alone in the world of gods. He has his consorts, or wives, and is very frequently worshiped in their persons rather than in his own. Among these wives are Devi, "the goddess"; Durga, "the inaccessible"; Karala, "the horrible one"; and Kali, "the black one." This terrible nest of harpies accentuates the tragic feature of Siva worship, and illustrates to what lengths these poor people, on whom the struggle of life has laid its heavy hand, are compelled to go to find solace and relief. Kali, to take but one example, the one after whom the city of Calcutta is named, is the goddess who is depicted as a cruel woman who with devilish glee dances on the body of her husband, holding aloft a human head she has just cut off. She can only be satisfied with blood, and at her temples goats and calves are killed in order to spatter her protruding tongue with the bloody sacrifice. And yet women all over India cry out to Mother Kali as their only hope in distress and suffering. Closely connected with the worship of Siva is that of Ganesa, his son, the elephant-headed god of wisdom and "the embodiment of success in life," whose unique images are to be seen in all parts of the country. The Saivites are numbered by the million, and by their devotion and earnestness attest the inalienable religiousness of the Indian people, who seek God and try to find him, even in the grotesque and repulsive forms in which Siva and his company are so frequently represented.

Besides these main forms of religious life India has many others. When we are told by Monier-Williams that ninety per cent of all the people of India are demon-worshippers, we ask how that can be when the people have been roughly divided between the two great sects. The fact is, the lines are loosely drawn and are stepped over with ease. Millions who may at times worship at the shrines of Krishna or Siva are also devotees of lesser gods and village divinities, who are little better than

malignant demons. The people see no incongruity in so doing. They are in want and are fearful as they look into the future—why should they not have access to any and all gods who may possibly avert the dangers which beset them? And so the worship extends out to include the worship of heroes and saints, demons and spirits, tutelary and village deities, the family ancestors, and even animals and plants and stones and other inanimate objects. There is no end to the list of sacred objects held in reverence and worshiped by the people. The cow is holy and inviolable, and to be treated with reverence. Even monkeys are sacred, with temples erected in their honor, in whose courts troops of the chattering fortunates are fed and treated like spoiled children. India is ineradicably religious and finds divinity everywhere. All the way from the lofty conception of the Supreme Creator down to the depths, where, in Saktism, the female principle, or Sakti, is worshiped with rites which at times descend to the lowest level of vileness, India has run the gamut of religious experience and doctrine. This god-intoxicated land is not to be restrained in her long quest for a satisfying conception of God and for an experience which will bring the people into vital touch with him.

MODERN REFORM MOVEMENTS

Great changes are taking place in India, but with all that every form of belief and every practice which has been mentioned obtains and is followed with the utmost devotion. It would seem that India is able to learn much and add to her religious life, but that she finds it exceedingly difficult to let go time-honored forms and institutions even though they are clearly outworn. As Mr. Farquhar points out, this conservatism is due to the family system, founded on ancestor worship, the caste system, which is the dominant force in the life of the Hindu, and the religious system, which is so varied and multi-form that a man may find just about what he wants if he searches for it.¹⁷ But with all this India has come into contact

¹⁷ *Primer of Hinduism*, Chap. XVII.

with the West and cannot remain the same. Western education and ideas are eating into the fabric of Indian culture and great changes are taking place. For years to come the customary restraints will continue to hold men bound so far as their outward conformity and formal acquiescence are concerned, but inwardly the pervasive influence of new ideas is making impossible a hearty acceptance of the old beliefs. Educated men simply cannot believe in polytheism. They are becoming too well informed to be able to assert the divine origin of caste and the unnatural distinctions which it involves. Somehow they cannot enter sincerely into the ancestral rites which have played so important a part in the family life. They rebel against the puerile incongruities in the ancient texts and turn away from the immoralities which obtrude themselves in so many places. By a rationalizing process they are attempting to sift out the wheat from the chaff and devote themselves to a new and better Hinduism, which they can hold at the same time with modern scientific attitudes and the higher morality which they have adopted as their ideal.

The growing national spirit is making a profound difference in the whole outlook of the leading men. They see the possibility of the development of Indian nationality, which was scarcely dreamed of a generation ago. Ever since the so-called Indian Unrest of 1907 and the following years they have pushed steadily toward more and more *swaraj*, or self-rule, keeping complete independence before them as their final goal. Mahatma Gandhi, with his passive resistance and the use of what he calls "soul force," has done much to unite the people and lead them toward independence and the self-respect and enthusiasm for things Indian which must underlie any solid development which makes for stability and dependable cohesion. Not that India has not chafed for decades under the rule of the British, but that until very recent years this has merely taken the form of irritation because of foreign domination without any intelligent plan for a better, united India governed by her own people. Had the hand of Britain been lifted at any time in the past, India would probably have been

plunged into civil war, Mohammedan against Hindu, and even one section of the Hindu community against another. There was no solidarity, no sense of unity, no possibility of a real nationality. The movement is still young and immature and full of dangers. What the future holds out we do not know, but of one thing we may be sure: India has caught the vision of nationality, of a unified life, of the development of a distinctive civilization, and is determined to bend all her energies and to make any sacrifices necessary to accomplish this end. The effect of this on religion will be profound. Whatever stands in the way of the desired aim will be laid aside. The ignorance of the mass of the people will make the process a long one, but the steady increase of education and the determined attitude of the entire leadership of the country point to the day of achievement. The religious exclusiveness of both Islam and Hinduism, the divisiveness of caste, the deadening influence of polytheism—all are looked upon as standing in the way of any real progress and must therefore give way to the new spirit.

There are those who declare that Hinduism just as it is can meet all the religious needs of the people, but even they have in many cases enlarged their horizon and attempt to show how their religion can include all other faiths within its ample folds. One of the most interesting of these men was Rama-Krishna Paramahansa, an ascetic, who lived in a temple near Calcutta. "He was ready to accept and to practice any aspect of Hinduism, and he imagined himself now a Christian, now a Mohammedan."¹⁸ His greatest disciple was the Swami Vivekananda, who appeared at the Chicago Parliament of Religions, in 1893, and lectured to entranced audiences in various parts of America. Everything in Hinduism was beautiful and noble and needed only the touch of an idealizing interpretation to appear as the climax of the world's religious development. This was the attitude of Mrs. Annie Besant, who stopped at nothing in her acceptance of Hinduism, but saw every feature

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

as evidence of the essential divinity which adhered to the whole system.

The most advanced of all the groups which realize the situation and are seeking to bring religion into line with the new light from the West is the Brahmo Samaj. This Samaj, or "church," has had an honorable history since the day of its founding in 1828. A very remarkable man, Ram Mohan Ray (1772-1833), highly educated and well versed in the literature of Buddhism and Christianity as well as of Hinduism, turned against the polytheism, the idolatry, the social abuses, and the moral blemishes of the faith in which he had been brought up and founded a "Theistic Church." He had few disciples, and in all its history the society has had but few members—not over five thousand at any time. Even this small number has been seriously divided and has been unable to present a united front against the social and religious abuses which it condemns. All hold to an unqualified monotheism and a purely spiritual worship. They are social reformers, opposing caste, child marriage, and the enforced celibacy of widows, but at this point there is a division of sentiment between the progressives and conservatives. Caste feeling is too strong to be easily overcome, and one wing—the less important, let it be said—were unwilling thus to cut themselves off from the Hindu community. The "Progressive Brahmo Samaj," led by the gifted though erratic Keshab Chandra Sen (1838-1884), threw itself into the work of reform with zeal. Keshab was a deeply spiritual man and read much in the literature of Christianity. He held Christ in the highest honor and some were even optimistic enough to look forward to his conversion to Christianity. He not only had no intention of taking this step, but in the end lost his hold on his own followers by claiming almost divine honors as a special channel of revelation. The Samaj still lives, and through its numerous publications promotes the reforms for which it has stood and witnesses to its belief in the one God who may be approached only in spiritual worship.

Of a very different sort is the militant Arya Samaj. Founded in 1875 by Dayananda Sarasvati, whose watchword was "Back

to the Vedas," and who believed India could only be regenerated by a return to the ancient faith, this society has grown in numbers until in 1911 the census gives the membership as almost a quarter of a million. Between 1911 and 1921 it increased again by ninety per cent. Opposed to idolatry and with the desire to promote the worship of one God, the Samaj has stood for certain needed reforms, but caste has not been successfully opposed, and the belief in transmigration and Karma nullifies what might otherwise be a worthy advocacy of monotheism. Violently opposed to Christianity and lending itself to the nationalistic agitation, the Arya Samaj tends to become as much a political as a religious movement. Its reforms do not go deep enough to promise anything commensurate with the need, and its failure to strike at the root of the religious needs of the country gives little hope that India's regeneration will be furthered by this agency.

The situation at the present moment is very complex. There is a secularist movement which would banish religion from India altogether. It is a striking evidence of the shifting of interest from religion to politics. Mr. Motilal Nehru and his fellow nationalists simply exclude religion from their plans as they envisage the new India of the future. Then there are deeply religious men like Mr. Gandhi who feel that it is futile to hope to build a worthy India without religion. They are very close to Christianity in moral idealism and know the Christian Scriptures, but at bottom are Hindus, deriving more spiritual nourishment from the *Bhagavadgita* (or *Gita*) than they do from the New Testament. Such also is Rabindranath Tagore, the noble, high-minded educator and moral idealist, whose prayers in such a collection as *Gitanjali* breathe the finest spirituality and who exerts an uplifting influence on all educated Indians. Mention may also be made of the editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* and Professor S. Radhakrishnan, well-known as a lecturer in the Western world, both of whom look upon themselves as true Hindus and yet highmindedly stand for reforms in the religion which they loyally profess. Caste must be greatly modified, untouchability banished, temple

prostitution eliminated; women should be educated and given freedom and the opportunity of development; child marriage must be shunned and widows be honored and allowed to remarry just as is the case with widowers. All obscenity must be banned and crudeness removed from the worship of the gods. It is a tremendous task. All honor to the enlarging group of men and women who have set these goals before them.

India will remain religious—we may be sure of that, despite the secularizing politicians and social reformers. Great changes will take place in her religious life—of that we may be equally sure. It is taking place before our eyes. What the end will be no one can see. Western influences have not as yet played their full part, and there is Christianity which must be counted on, a growing force in Indian life, in numbers and even more in influence. The future must be worked out by Indians themselves and not by outsiders, and this means that Christian Indians will have their part to perform, probably far more important than can be foreseen today.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- J. N. Farquhar, *A Primer of Hinduism* (London, 2d edit., 1912).
 J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (New York, 1915). Needs considerable correction today.
 A. Barth, *The Religions of India* (London, 4th edit., 1906). One of the best of the older books.
 Monier Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom* (London, 4th edit., 1893). History of the religious literature, with numerous examples from the writings.
 James Bissett Pratt, *India and Its Faiths* (Boston, 1915). The record of a traveler with a mind trained to interpret religious belief and practice.
 George Foot Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. I, Chaps. XI, XIII, XIV.
 W. S. Urquhart, *The Vedanta and Modern Thought* (London, 1928).
 C. S. Braden, *Modern Tendencies in World Religions*, Chap. II (New York, 1933). Very valuable on later tendencies.
 L. S. S. O'Malley, *Popular Hinduism* (Cambridge, 1935).

CHAPTER VIII

BUDDHISM

GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA

ABOUT the middle of the sixth century before Christ a little boy was born in north India who was destined to influence the thought of Asia more than any other down to our own time. The Aryan invaders had for centuries been advancing down the Ganges Valley and were now to be found presenting a broad front along the western confines of what we now know as the province of Bengal. There they had settled down in little kingdoms not altogether friendly with each other. They had mingled with the aborigines, but it is not possible to determine their exact relations and the purity of their Aryan blood. It has even been asserted that the Buddha was not Aryan at all. Local chieftains wielded sway over limited territories and in some cases were organized into federations or oligarchies, called republics. Now, Gautama the Buddha was the son of one of these petty chieftains. Within recent years the place of his birth has been identified with certainty. At Kapilavastu, about a hundred and thirty miles north of the modern city of Benares, just within the borders of the native state of Nepal, a stone tablet was discovered in 1896 which marks the birthplace of India's greatest son. He was given the name of Siddhartha, but is generally known as Gautama, the name of the family or clan to which he belonged. The title "Buddha," or "enlightened one," is applied to many others, but it is Gautama the Buddha who was without doubt a historical character and founded the system to which he gave the name.¹

We find ourselves in confusion in telling the story of his life. There is no continuous story in the ancient literature. I

¹ The spelling here adopted is Sanskrit. Many use the spelling of the Pali, one of the native vernaculars in which the earliest tradition has come down to us. In Pali the Buddha is Gotama and his given name is Siddhatta.

can do no better than quote from one of the leading authorities: "The only firm ground from which we can start is not history, but the fact that legend in a definite form existed in the first and second centuries after the Buddha's death."² Many are the stories told of his birth and early years, which are so fabulous that it is with difficulty we are able to extract the modicum of truth they contain. We are told little of the life of young Siddhartha until he was about thirty years of age. We may well believe the tradition that he excelled in manly sports. His endurance and the attainment of a hale and hearty old age attest a strong constitution and a firm foundation laid in youth for a strenuous and long life. What we are quite certain of is that he was married and had one son, Rahula, of whom he was exceedingly fond. A persistent tradition repeated many times over in Buddhist literature indicates that he was of the meditative and thoughtful type and possessed a nature deeply touched by the pain and sorrow of life. We are told that he was strangely moved by the sight of an old decrepit man, a man suffering from an offensive disease, a putrefying corpse, and finally a wandering monk who had realized the vanity of life and had forsaken it forever to search for the deeper satisfactions in religion and philosophy. We can only guess at the feelings which were surging in the breast of Gautama. What we do know is that about the age of thirty he left house and home never to return to the old relationships again. It has been called the "great renunciation." He turned away from wife and child, from his father and the succession to the chieftainship, from all that the future had to offer of honor and success—all these he rejected to answer the summons of an inner craving which was not satisfied and which could not be hushed. He made the break just when he did because he found his little son was entwining himself so firmly about his heart that if he waited any longer it would be impossible to tear himself away.

In thus abandoning his home and becoming a penniless wanderer Gautama took the step which many before and since

² Edward J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha as Legend and History*, p. 2.

his day in India have taken. Dissatisfied with life and yet longing for satisfaction, reaching out after peace and not knowing where to find it, India has always had its holy men, who travel from place to place or else seek some lonely spot in the jungle or on a mountainside and give themselves to contemplation and ascetic practices. He was merely doing what countless others have done in the same quest. We know comparatively little about the next five or six years. There is good evidence that he went to one religious teacher after another, but of what they taught and what he thought of their theories we do not know very much. It seems clear that they could not satisfy the deep craving in the heart of this earnest seeker. The opposition which he showed in later years to the current philosophies would seem to have begun at the time when they failed to give an adequate answer to his questions. Gautama was by no means alone in his search. Many others in India at that time were seeking answers to their religious questionings. The name of one other, a contemporary of Gautama, has come down to us, Mahavira, the founder of the religion of the Jains, which numbers about a million and a quarter adherents at the present time in India. He too forged a new belief out of his thought and experiences and added another to the number of cults in this deeply religious land. Based on the principle of a fundamental dualism in life, the Jains have given themselves to a severe asceticism and have made the prohibition of killing any single living thing, large or small, a cardinal doctrine. While Buddhism has ceased to exist in the land of its birth Jainism still thrives, though it is of slight importance in comparison with the surrounding Hinduism.

We left Gautama with "the teachers, both hearing them, and asking them questions." Either after or during this period he gave himself to a strict regimen. By abstinence and other ascetic practices he reduced himself to a skeleton. A small company of disciples gathered around him in admiration of his fortitude and perseverance. They were not able to follow him in the utter abandon of his efforts to extort the peace he craved by hardships and deprivations. He carried his exertions to the

breaking point and nature rebelled. He finally fell over in a swoon. His disciples thought he had died and wondered at the pluck and resolution they had failed to attain. But he revived, much to their surprise. Then an astonishing thing takes place. Gautama calmly declares to his followers that mortification had failed to bring the peace he craved and that he would give it up. His erstwhile disciples cannot understand a statement so unorthodox, and forthwith take their leave and go to Benares with contempt in their hearts for one who has turned away from so time-honored a practice as self-abnegation and asceticism. And just here the originality of Gautama begins to show itself. Up to this time he had been a typical Hindu, but now he began to branch off and follow a direction all his own. Asceticism had failed to satisfy, so he turned away from it decisively. From this time he became an advocate of the "middle way." His experience had led him to the conclusion that neither luxury on one side nor asceticism on the other could satisfy the inner craving he felt. The only thing to do then, so far as everyday life was concerned, was to travel the "middle way," not giving way to softness and luxury on one side, nor undergoing the hardships of self-inflicted asceticism on the other. He set men the example of simple living with only a few regulations which were calculated to keep men from the evils and sins which would make the development of character impossible. It was good, wholesome living he inculcated—wholesome in all particulars save one. Gautama had separated himself from his home and his wife, and he could not see that traveling the "middle way" ought to mean the avoidance of unbridled license on one hand and celibacy on the other. To him no advance could possibly be made in character, no progress could be made toward peace and satisfaction so long as man lived in company with woman. He must turn away from home and wife and children if he were to take up seriously the task of quieting the craving within and winning the peace he desired. It was a serious weakness. To make woman a stumbling-block to man in the journey toward his heart's desire is to lower her condition and at the same time to keep man down

to a level at which the finest flowers of individual and social life can never grow. Gautama did not see this, and his system has suffered to our own day from this defect.

But all that he had attained was negative. He had learned that the inner rest he was craving was not to be had by living a life of ease or by asceticism. The process of elimination had been at work, but nothing positive had been gained. The temptation came to give up the pursuit, go back to his home, and take up his life where he had left it on the night when he suddenly took his flight. Would this not be the best course out of the confusion in which his failure had left him? But no, that would not have been Gautama the Buddha. He found himself in a dreadful moral and mental struggle, which is described most realistically in Buddhist literature. The forces of Mara, the enemy of all that is good, charged like legions of armed demons from the front and then from the rear, seeking to break down his determined resistance, but through it all he sat unmoved, with purpose unchanged and his desire unquenched. At last, under the shade of the famous Bo-tree, where he had remained all the day fighting his battle for spiritual emancipation, as the evening came on and the quiet shadows crept in around him, the enlightenment came and he was free. Thus did Gautama become the Buddha, the "enlightened." His last battle with his lower nature had been won, his doubts were dissolved, and the peace whose elusive quest he had been following so long swept over his soul, never again to be absent from his experience. He had grasped the meaning of the world's sorrow and could cure it.

Such a memorable experience and such a stupendous claim demand explanation. What was the disease which had doomed men and women to sorrow and despair? Surely, the man who could not only give the correct diagnosis but also offer the cure was a benefactor the whole world was seeking. Without doubt the strivings through which he had been passing uninterruptedly for so many years and the attempts he had made from every conceivable angle to find the way out of his mental anguish account in large measure for the final conclusion the

Buddha reached, but for him the whole matter was the result of a spiritual illumination or mental intuition which burst upon him like a light flowing in from the heavens. For many weary years he had lived in the presence of his own inner discontent and the sorrow of the world around him. What was the cause of this sorrow and inner pain? Nothing less than desire, the lust of gold and fame and pleasure, all that made men cling to the things of life and sense. He had laid his finger on the canker that was eating the life out of his fellow men. How much of all this he had thought out before the day of concentration under the Bo-tree it is impossible to say. The final element in his conclusion was that peace and poise could only come by the suppression of desire, the conquest of the lower nature by the power of the human mind brought to bear on this root of human misery.

The temptation which came to him at once was to become a solitary recluse, spending his years in quiet enjoyment of his newly found experience and thinking through all its implications. But again this would not have been Gautama the Buddha. Throughout his life benevolence and pity toward his fellow creatures was a powerful motive and determined his action. He deliberately made up his mind to devote his time to the carrying of his message to men as far as his journeys might lead him. He acted upon his determination and proceeded at once to Benares, where he found and won back the disciples who had so recently left him. They felt the power of his conviction and the truth he was uttering. In this way until the end of his long life he continued to win converts until they could be counted by the hundreds and thousands. His love for men and his desire to lift from them the burden of sorrow and misery they were carrying make the Buddha one of the world's great altruists. He never wearied of telling his message and rejoiced as one after another men and women came to him, were convinced, and went away with a new life open before them. He had determined "to set rolling the royal chariot-wheel of a universal empire of truth and righteous-

ness," and he never lost an opportunity to make a convert and set another soul free from the fetters of desire.

The chronology of the life of the Buddha is uncertain. The period from the time when he abandoned his home until his emancipation was probably about five years, roughly from the age of thirty to thirty-five. He died at about the age of eighty, thus spending forty-five years in declaring his doctrine up and down northern India. During the rainy season, called the "was," he remained in one place teaching his disciples and preaching to the people who came to him, but as soon as the dry season had come he was off again on his long journeys, accompanied by a group of his disciples. There were no decisive crises in his life after the period of the Bo-tree experience, and the story is a somewhat disconnected narrative of what he said and did in the course of the years. He met many people, men and women of all ranks and classes of society, and most interesting are the accounts of his replies and admonitions. He was dignified yet sympathetic, firm yet kindly, dealing in each case with insight and sending each one away with an appropriate and convincing word. No wonder he came to be idolized by his followers. They looked on him as one who could meet every emergency, as one who was not to be baffled by any carping or even sincere questioner. In the course of his tours he came to his old home at Kapilavastu, and there met his wife and his son. He went back several times. They may have thought to receive him back to the old relationships, but that was not to be. They were little more to him, that is, so far as his actions showed, than fellow beings who stood in need of his message. His words fell on good ground in each case, and both wife and son became members of the two orders he had instituted, one for men and the other for women. They became penniless wanderers like the Buddha himself, looking for their daily bread at the hand of the kindly laity, who considered it meritorious to feed and otherwise provide for these holy men and women.

So the Buddha lived out his days, never ceasing this round

of teaching from place to place. At last the end came as a result, so it is said by Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, of an attack of dysentery caused by eating a meal of rice and mushrooms.³ He lived for a number of hours, during which the time was spent in converse with Ananda, his most devoted follower and personal attendant, and others who desired a word with the dying leader. Shortly before becoming unconscious he summoned his strength and said, "Mendicants! I now impress it upon you, decay is inherent in all component things; work out your salvation with diligence!" Earnest to the very last in his desire to give direction to all who might need it, the Buddha passed away in the presence of a group of his faithful disciples. No purer character has India given to the world, one worthy of the honor which has been bestowed by countless believers in all subsequent ages and worthy of our highest esteem and admiration.

EARLY BUDDHISM

Gautama left no written records. The early literature has come down to us in the Pali language and consists of the *Three Pitakas*, or "Baskets," which contain the rules which the Brothers and Sisters are to observe, the truths which are to be taught, and the psychological system on which it is based. Besides the volumes collected in those writings certain supplementary works have been added to them, which are considered a part of the early canon. How much of all the teaching came from the Buddha himself it is impossible to say—probably very little. There is a real problem here. The Pali literature has yet to be subjected to the kind of thoroughgoing criticism which has been turned on the Christian Scriptures. It is felt deeply that the various *Pitakas* as we have them today are the result of a long growth lasting through several centuries. For a long time they were not committed to writing, evidences of systematization and arrangement according to a mnemonic system being evident in the entire literature. Very recently Mrs. C. A. Rhys

³ *Buddhism* (Manual), edit. of 1912, p. 80.

David's, one of the most learned students of the Pali and early Buddhism, has written a series of volumes on the basis of a searching analysis of the documents. She has reached the conclusion that there are evidences that these documents actually misrepresent the Buddha and his teaching. This misrepresentation was the work of monks who read into the tradition which had come down to them their own ideas, which Mrs. Rhys Davids believes were greatly at variance from the actual facts. They make the Buddha an ascetic who preached the doctrine of "no-soul," the lack of enduring individuality in man, the importance of which in early Buddhism we shall discover. Mrs. Rhys Davids will have none of this. She believes the Buddha stood for a more rounded personality, a continuing identity, and that he recognized, more than is usually believed to be true, a relation of man to a higher-than-man, which would make of early Buddhism more of what is truly religious than is usually credited to the Buddha and his early followers. These changes are fundamental and would make a profound difference in the interpretation of Buddhism. Suffice it to say that up to the present time scholars are exceedingly skeptical of these conjectures. They seem to be entirely too subjective and arbitrary. The difficulty is that no convincing standard of criticism has been presented which can be accepted, on the basis of which such claims as Mrs. Rhys Davids advances can be satisfactorily judged. In the meantime the need of such study is becoming the more apparent and very much waits on its serious pursuit. We are left with the necessity of taking the Pali *Pitakas* as they stand and interpreting them as best we may, with the caveat, of course, that changes may become necessary in the years ahead as results may be arrived at which are convincing to the scholars who have the right to an opinion.⁴ What we have to work on, then, is a library of about twenty-nine titles in

⁴ For those who may desire to delve a little further into these views the following volumes are suggested, all by Mrs. C. A. Rhys Davids: *Gotama the Man*, London, 1928; *A Manual of Buddhism for Advanced Students*, London, 1932; and a shorter but very clear presentation, *Buddhism, Its Birth and Dispersal* (revised edit., London, 1934).

which "The number of Pali words in the whole is about twice the number of words in our English Bible."⁵

Of the various approaches which might be made to the study of the teachings of early Buddhism there is in the mind of the present writer none more fruitful than that through the Three Signs, or Fundamental Truths. The method of approach is of real importance, for the teaching of the Buddha is somewhat baffling and caution must be exercised at a number of important turning points. The first of the Fundamental Doctrines is the impermanence of all things. To put it in the ancient phrase, "All the constituents of life are impermanent." The statement is also made, "There is no being—there is only a becoming." This is to be accepted as literally true of all things; gods as well as the tiniest atom are equally included. The passing away may be delayed for a long period, but the principle of change is the principle of all existence, and sooner or later the process will be evident. Just as soon as there is a beginning decay also begins; the beginning of the end is at hand. Here in India, five hundred years before Christ, is being preached the philosophy of change. We do not live in a static universe, but one in which everything is in a state of flux. They were not deeply concerned with ultimate beginnings or final endings; what came home with great force to these thinkers was that there was a great force in this world of ours which had always been causing change and which would continue to do so indefinitely. At about the same time in Greece philosophers were conjuring with the same idea. Heraclitus, about 536-470 B. C., denied that there was any such thing as permanence. "There is no static Being, no unchanging substratum. Change, movement, is Lord of the universe."⁶ And we today are still discussing the same problem, Is there anything permanent, or is everything subject to change? The doctrine of evolution asserts the doctrine of change and links us to the ancient Greeks and to the Buddha and his followers.

⁵ T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism* (American Lectures), p. 52.

⁶ A. K. Rogers, *A Student's History of Philosophy*, p. 15, new edit., 1916.

The early Buddhists excluded nothing from the sweep of this theory. It is the explanation of the atheism with which the Buddha has been charged. He was not an atheist; he took the gods of India for granted, but it made little difference to him whether they were real beings or not. Whatever they were and wherever they might be at any time, they were bound by the same law of impermanence and change. There was no essential difference between the most exalted of them and men. All belonged to the same universe and were subject in the same way to its laws. Why should anyone look to them? They could give no assistance which man could not render himself. They were in the possession of no powers man did not have at his disposal. The result was that the Buddha constructed a system in which no god was needed. A sense of dependence on a god was like leaning on a broken reed. He might for the time being seem strong and wise, but it was only a passing phase with no assurance of continuance. So, then, worship was useless and prayer an empty form. What we have is a system which, strictly speaking, is no religion at all. Later we shall try to estimate the meaning of this conclusion in the light of other facts, which would indicate that elements of a true religious attitude were there from the beginning, even though formally everything religious seemed to be excluded.

The second of the Fundamental Signs is that sorrow is implicit in all individuality. "All the constituents of life are full of misery." The Buddha's discovery under the Bo-tree was that the cause of the misery which he himself had sought to escape and which he found everywhere in the world was desire, and desire is the inevitable accompaniment of conscious existence. We cannot gain what we want and we cannot escape what we dislike, and this involves misery and sorrow. This doctrine of suffering and its cure has received classic expression in the teaching of the Four Noble Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path, which must be clearly understood as fundamental to our study.

1. "Now, this, O recluses, is the noble truth concerning *suffering*." Then in many forms the statement is made that all human experience involves suffering, because it flows from individuality, or separate conscious existence. To live and cling to life involves desire and hence sorrow. The point to keep in mind is that it is not life, the mere living, which is attended with sorrow. We shall see that when a man has attained the "ideal state" in this life, he still may continue to live on for many years without sorrow. This is possible because he has learned how he can live with no desire after continued individuality and all that that involves.

2. "Now, this, O recluses, is the noble truth concerning the *origin* of suffering. Verily it originates in that craving thirst which causes the renewal of becomings, is accompanied by sensual delights, and seeks satisfaction now here, now there—that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the passions, or the craving for a future life, or the craving for success in this present life." So long as the enticements of the outside world have the slightest attraction for us we are subject to pain and sorrow.

3. "Now, this, O recluses, is the noble truth concerning the *destruction* of suffering.

"Verily, it is the destruction, in which no craving remains over, of this very thirst; the laying aside of, the getting rid of, the being free from, the harboring no longer of, this thirst."

4. "And this, O recluses, is the noble truth concerning the *way* which leads to the destruction of suffering.

"Verily, it is this Noble Eightfold Path; that is to say:

"Right Views (free from superstition and delusion)—

"Right Aspirations (high, and worthy of the intelligent, earnest man)—

"Right Speech (kindly, open, truthful)—

"Right Conduct (peaceful, honest, pure)—

"Right Livelihood (bringing hurt or danger to no living thing)—

"Right Effort (in self-training and in self-control)—

"Right Mindfulness (the active, watchful mind)—

"Right Rapture (in deep meditation on the realities of life)."¹

In the course of his gradual progress in the Path the Buddhist must break the Ten Fetters, Delusion of Self, Doubt, the Efficacy of Good Works and Ceremonies, Sensuality, Ill-Will, Love of Life on Earth, Desire for a Future Life in Heaven, Pride, Self-righteousness, and Ignorance, each of which is treated at length in the Pali texts.

When a man shall have achieved the eight positive characteristics of the Noble Path and broken the Ten Fetters, he has become an Arhat (also Arahāt, Arahant), and thus has realized the Buddhist ideal of life. It is also known as Nirvana, or "the going out"—"the going out of the three fires of lust, ill-will, and dullness, or ignorance." So then, Arhatship, or Nirvana, may be attained here in this life, a state of perfect mental quiet and rest, in which no desire ruffles the poise of the peaceful devotee (save, of course, the desire for more of the present satisfaction and the desire to bestow the gift on others) and no longing breaks in on his contemplation. But is there no future life, no expectation beyond the time when his body shall come to the end of its term in death? This can only be answered by a consideration of the last of the signs.

This Truth is that of the absence of a "soul," the "no-soul" doctrine. "All the constituents of life are without a soul." We are separate and distinct individual beings now; that is quite evident, but we have no permanent or even temporary soul as an entity in itself. This is confusing and must be looked at closely, as it was by the Buddhist leaders through generations of thought and study. It is all a delusion that there is such a thing as a person or a chariot or a chair. These are only names which we give to the temporary gathering together into a seeming unity of qualities or "aggregates" which are only parts of the all-embracing universe in which we live and of which we form a part. You may ask of a chair as you mention each part, "Is this the chair?" and, of course, the answer must in each

¹T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism* (American Lectures), pp. 136-8.

case be "No." Then the Buddhist says: "Where, then, is your chair?" It has eluded you—there is no chair! What you call a chair is but the name you give to the temporary collection of parts which when brought together may perform a useful function. So of a human being. He is composed of parts which when assembled under certain conditions we call by a name, but there is no real person there, no you nor I nor he. The parts which make up a human being are called skandhas, or "aggregates," and they are five in number. First there are the material properties, in short, our physical bodies. Then follow four mental qualities, which, as nearly as we are able to designate them in the terms of modern psychology, may be given thus: sensations, or feelings; abstract ideas, or perception; potentialities, or the elements of consciousness; and thought, or consciousness taken as a unified whole. We, to speak of ourselves, are merely the name which is given to the five skandhas when they are thus united. What holds them together is what might be called a thread of life. When at death the thread is broken the skandhas fall apart never again to reassemble. That individual being has ceased to be and will never come into existence again. There is no essential soul, so how could he?

But Buddhism believes in transmigration, and the question naturally arises, How can there be transmigration when there is no soul to transmigrate? It would seem that the Buddha should have dropped this doctrine altogether. There must have been good reason for retaining it when it plunged him into such a strange dilemma. The fact is, the Buddha held fast to the old Indian theory because it offered him a moral explanation of the cruel inequalities of life. He could not find sufficient reason in men's conduct in this life to justify the measure of blessing and suffering which was the lot of his fellow human beings. It must be because of good deeds or wickedness done in a previous life. Now, while this was satisfying as far as it went—provided, of course, one could believe in any kind of transmigration—the Buddha met the same question again, How believe in transmigration when one has no belief in a soul? And here is one of the most difficult and

subtle points in the whole theory of early Buddhism, so important that it is repeated many times over in the Pali literature. There is no soul, but something does or may pass over into another existence. It is the sum total or the net result of all the actions which have been performed by the persons who have followed one after another in the series. That is, the person now living inherits from the person which preceded him the result of his moral achievement or failure. He may rise higher in the scale or sink lower than his predecessor according as he adds to or subtracts from the moral content which he inherited. What causes him to be born at all if he is not the same person who had lived before? So long as any one dies and still has desire or craving (in the Buddhist sense) left in his heart another set of skandhas is bound to assemble and form another person who must take up the task where his predecessor left it. And so it goes on from one to another until in the end the series to which they have all belonged comes to an end forever when the hoped-for result has been achieved, that is, when one arises who succeeds in crushing out desire, becomes an Arhat and enters Nirvana. His body may keep on living for years, but when it dies the skandhas fall apart and there is nothing to require another set of skandhas to gather again, for there is nothing left around which they may assemble. Karma simply ceases to function in this case.

This is the Buddhist law of Karma. According to this law, new individuals are born one after another until all desire is used up. There is no more Karma, or Karma has been used up, are different ways of speaking of the same process and its final ending. So with all the changes taking place in the universe and in every particle of matter in it, there is an unchanging law according to which all this takes place. It is impersonal and works by a kind of blind necessity, inevitable and unchanging, the one great propelling power in the universe. But the Buddha gives no evidence that he ever thought of these final questions. He was averse to any such consideration. He makes the statement many times that he is concerned with one thing only, and that is sorrow and the curing of

sorrow—all else is irrelevant. But the cure in its final outcome seems to us so inadequate. When an Arhat has in this life attained Nirvana, what becomes of him when his body dies? What becomes of a candle flame when it is blown out? The Buddhist is likely to answer at this point by saying that whatever happens nothing essential is lost. We of the West are not satisfied and insist, "Is not consciousness lost, and personality, and without these what remains?" And still the Buddhist replies, "Nothing is lost"—so wide is the chasm between the mind of the East and the West!

Surely, all this could not be expected to find lodgment in the minds of the common people, and it never did. Attainment was possible only to those who separated themselves from ordinary life and became monks, living a life apart in communities so that all their energies might be concentrated on attaining the end desired. The order was not a priesthood, standing between God and men. The gods were negligible; man must secure his attainment by his own powers, so a priesthood would have been an anomaly. The order was merely a means to spiritual attainment. During the whole history of Buddhism the order of monks has been the key to its expansion and its power in every land to which it has gone. The monasteries, large and small, in every Buddhist country attest the hold of the idea of salvation through self-discipline on the minds of men and women. Formal and even degenerate though they may have become in many cases, the monastic institutions still continue to thrive and influence the lives of the people.

The Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Order are the three anchors of early Buddhism. When the candidate for the order comes before the abbot of a monastery he repeats this formula:

"I go for refuge to the Buddha.
I go for refuge to the Law (Dharma).
I go for refuge to the Order (Sangha)."⁸

This is about as near a prayer as early Buddhism achieved. In it lies the germ of an amazing development when real

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

prayer was offered to real gods who were looked upon as able to deliver them, but this does not belong to the early day. The monasteries were not to be the permanent home of the monks in the original intention. They were supposed to be penniless wanderers (Bhikshus), depending on the gifts of the laity for their daily needs. Only during the rainy season were they to be located in a definite place. But the temptation was great to possess a permanent seat, and there arose great institutions in magnificent surroundings wherever the religion was carried. A monk himself might possess nothing of this world's goods, but the monastery could. As a result they became powerful and had immense influence, like the monasteries in Europe in the Middle Ages. The equipment of the monks was exceedingly simple. An almsbowl, in which to secure food on the daily round; the three vestments, so that the entire body might be covered; a staff, a needle, a razor, a tooth-pick, a water-strainer, so as not to destroy animal life in drinking—and he was fully furnished. There was little variation in the daily routine. Early morning recitation of the sacred books and meditation, the round for alms in the mid-morning, the simple noonday meal, rest and meditation again, the day closing with service and recitations in the hall of the monastery. There were no services for the public and no real worship. During the rainy season the monks would preach to the people. The regulations have been changed greatly in different countries and at different periods, but these simple rules were those with which the institution started and to some extent prevail today.

The monk was bound to obey The Eight Precepts:

"One should not destroy life.

"One should not take that which is not given.

"One should not tell lies.

"One should not become a drinker of intoxicating liquors.

"One should refrain from unlawful sexual intercourse—an ignoble thing.

"One should not eat unseasonable food at nights.

"One should not wear garlands nor use perfumes.

"One should sleep on a mat spread on the ground."

The first five are manifestly on a different plane from the last three. The Buddhists recognized this, and when inculcating moral principles among the common people required of them a strict observance of the first five only. So while the Buddhist did not believe in a soul, the moral system clearly indicates that he set high store on discipline, through which he hoped for purity and honor. All this is to the credit of the system and demands recognition as a marked advance upon the practice and teaching of the surrounding population of India. It has gone with Buddhism into the Eastern world as a steadying influence, and doubtless explains in part its favorable reception into many lands which might otherwise have turned away from its teaching.

HINAYANA AND MAHAYANA

To recount the story of the development of Buddhism and its expansion into the countries of eastern and southern Asia would take long. The Buddha lived in the sixth and fifth centuries before Christ; one estimate gives the dates as 560-480 B. C. The first date in Indian history of which we may be sure is when Alexander the Great invaded India in 326 B. C. We do not know much about the condition of Buddhism until the reign of Asoka, who ascended the throne in 273 B. C. and ruled as the first real emperor of India for about forty years. The significant fact is that Asoka became a Buddhist and ruled his wide dominions according to the precepts of the faith. He instituted the office of chief minister of justice and religion, whose main task was to preserve the purity of the faith. The most notable contribution he made to the cause of Buddhism, however, was the sending of embassies or missions to various countries to carry the teaching. In this way many countries were reached, notably Ceylon, whose history began with the coming of Buddhism. Again there is a long period about

¹ T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism* (Manual), p. 139.

which little is known. At about the time of Christ a king arose in the far northwest of India named Kanishka, who was not an Indian at all, but belonged to one of the peoples of the great central Asian plateau. He began to rule in 78 A. D., embraced Buddhism, and took much interest in the faith and its development. Again there is little information for centuries until in the fifth and again in the seventh century Chinese pilgrims, men who had become Buddhists, made journeys to India to visit the historic places where the Buddha had lived and died and to carry back relics and books to their home in China. We learn from the volumes these men wrote that Buddhism, which had been very strong, was on the decline in the land of its birth. There may have been some persecution, but the real cause of the deterioration was that Buddhism was not distinctive and rigid enough to escape being drawn back into the Hinduism from which it had emerged. By the time of the Mohammedan incursions into India, which began in the year 1000 A. D., Buddhism had about disappeared, and now in the land of its origin and early power the faith of Gautama the Buddha, her most illustrious son, is only a memory.

Such, in brief, is the sad story of the disappearance of a faith from the land for which it promised to do so much. These outward changes and vicissitudes, however, are of lesser interest compared with the inner development and transformation which befell the faith itself. The evolution cannot be traced with any accuracy; about all we know is that at a certain time the faith was one thing, and then again several centuries after it had become something very different. Councils were called to decide on questions on which the monasteries differed, but much obscurity hangs over these assemblies. A notable council was held under the patronage of Kanishka about 100 A. D., after which a deep cleavage is apparent between two schools of thought, the Hinayana and the Mahayana. The name of Nagarjuna is also heard; he is reputed to have been one of the leaders who made the crisis more significant and became the great promoter of the Mahayana teaching.

The terms need defining. *Hinayana* means the "little

vehicle," only fitted to carry a small number on the way to salvation, and *Mahayana* means "large vehicle," a means of salvation sufficient to accommodate all who would come. Manifestly, the name "Hinayana" was given by their opponents who desired to call attention to their own superior doctrine. But long before these two schools separated, the teaching, which later was to be called Hinayana, had developed in various ways. It was based on the teaching of the Buddha, but had diverged widely from it at one or two points. Gautama had turned his back on the gods of India and constructed a system without worship, sacrifice, prayer, or any sense of dependence on a higher power. He had essayed to do the impossible. The need of help in the struggle of life and the tendency to turn to some being who is powerful enough to render assistance is too strongly intrenched in human nature to be thus eradicated. Even in his own lifetime the Buddha was raised to an exalted position by his disciples. They came to look upon him as almost omniscient and all-wise, ready to meet any emergency. He carried himself with the dignity which forbade undue intimacy. He was a man apart from other men. Despite his democracy, which is undoubted, his elevation and disinterestedness in the ordinary things of life cast an atmosphere of aloofness about him, which was only increased by the sanctity which seemed naturally to belong to one who was so kind and pure and good. He was almost their god while he journeyed with them, intent on teaching them that there was no need of gods. Little wonder is it that in the centuries after he had passed away the Buddha himself should have been raised to the position in the spiritual world where men could look for his assistance and raise hands to him in prayer. This became true in Hinayana. There was a tendency toward theism, though it never became clear and distinct. The Buddha was raised to a place of pre-eminence even above the divine beings. He was looked upon as sinless; the doctrine arose that he had been born of a virgin, that he was perfect in wisdom and power, and that he had been able to perform wonders during his earthly life. The theory arose that Gautama was the last of a

long series of Buddhas who had preceded him, and that there was one yet to come, Maitriya Buddha, the gracious god who would restore all things. This is the form of Buddhism which with many local differences prevails in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, and is frequently spoken of as Southern Buddhism. It must be made plain, however, that the educated monks seek most strenuously to preserve the pure, and what they consider to be the uncontaminated, teaching of the founder as found in the Pali literature.

Professor Rhys Davids claims¹⁰ that the teaching of Gautama in its purity was not put in practice outside a narrow circle in his own time and immediately following. Men are in trouble and need help, and no teaching which attempts to dam up the impulse to prayer and worship can succeed in doing so very long; the Nemesis will come and human nature will assert its inalienable right to seek after God and claim his protection and help. The Mahayana, however, went so much farther than the Hinayana that it felt it could point the finger of scorn at its less daring sister. There was a time when it was thought that the Mahayana was developed through contact with the rough warriors and nomads of the central Asian steppes, who penetrated into India about the time of Christ. But surely, these converts were not capable of entering into the niceties of theological and psychological speculation, and we now feel certain that they are not responsible for the unique features of the Mahayana. More recent research discloses the fact that both the Hinayana and the Mahayana were developed in monasteries in North India. Indeed, we have reason to believe that in some cases both teachings were held by different monks in the same monastery. They are both Indian products, but the Mahayana seemed specially adapted to the life and thought of the people of the north. At any rate that is where the Mahayana is now found, while the Hinayana traveled south and finds its permanent habitat there.

Much thought and work must have been put on the system

¹⁰ Article, "Hinayana," in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

of the Mahayana before it was complete. When the curtain is drawn, we are amazed by its complexity and extent. A new universe has been created filled with spiritual beings and opening out possibilities to men of which they had not dreamed in the Hinayana. The salvation was all-embrasive, fitted to the needs of men whether they might enter the portals of a monastery or not. Many schools of teaching arose, of which we may give only a typical though widespread and influential example. At the forefront of this particular doctrine was the conception of an Eternal Being, or Deity, the very Lord of the Universe. This being is both a philosophical conception, called Dharmakaya, the first of the "three bodies" of the eternal Buddha, and a more or less personal god of love, known as Adi-Buddha. Men do not come into immediate contact with this ultimate Being, but they are not left helpless. This Adi-Buddha has by the power of contemplation projected into existence five "Buddhas of Contemplation" (Dhyani Buddhas), and these in turn have sent out five other beings, who are the actual creators of the physical universe, and these again have their representatives in the world of men. We are now living in the fourth of the worlds which have been created, and our human Buddha, the representative of the more exalted spiritual Buddhas, is the historic Gautama. So in the Mahayana not only have gods been created to meet the needs of men, but Gautama has been relegated to a subordinate position. They preferred to scale the ladder of speculation and make gods to their liking rather than remain true to the historic Gautama and raise him to the supreme place in their pantheon.

A new career was opened up before men. In the teaching of Gautama and the Hinayana the ideal was to become an Arhat and thus to enter Nirvana. Another idea had been held, however, and even in an early day this proved a useful clue to the fertile minds of the Buddhist system makers. Gautama had long been looked upon as one of a series of Buddhas, the last of which, the "coming one," was Maitriya Buddha. Here was the conception of one yet to come, a Bodhisattva, a "Future Buddha." In the Mahayana this idea was taken up and

developed and became only second in importance to the doctrine of the Eternal Deity and his manifestations. *Bodhisattva* means "one whose essence is enlightenment," and in the Mahayana it is used to designate those spiritual beings who are ready to enter the final state of Buddhahood, which would mean separation from all the concerns of men here below, but who refrain from doing so for the time being in order that they may be of service to all who may appeal to them. There are many of these exalted beings, some of them widely revered, who are virtually gods in all lands where the Mahayana has been carried. To worship these Bodhisattvas now becomes the central point in the religious life of the laymen. They now had a full-fledged religion with "gods many and lords many."

And now to come back to the new career which was placed before men—to prepare to become a Bodhisattva in the spiritual world after we have passed out of this life is to be the goal of all good men. Some progress can be made in this direction even by laymen in this life, when as Future-Bodhisattvas they may begin to take the steps and undergo the discipline necessary to the purifying of life that the great goal may ultimately be reached. The superiority of this aim over that of the Arhat is readily seen. The Arhat treads the path to win for himself release and peace; the Future-Bodhisattva strives to fit himself to become a helper of men, a saviour to all those in bondage and distress. Altruism has now become the *summum bonum*, with a sweep that is universal. Not one human being lies outside the purpose of those who look forward to a life of unselfish service.

Instead of the lifeless Nirvana as the goal of all existence the Mahayana has substituted a paradise where the souls of men and women may live in conscious blessedness and peace. The idea of the soul has come back and affects the doctrine at several important points. As might be expected, a hell is brought in for the wicked as well as a heaven for the good. It cannot be said that the life in heaven or hell is everlasting. The haunting conception of Nirvana cannot be extinguished, and beyond the heavens and the hells—for there are numbers of each—lies

in the distant haze the land of passionless peace, where men are lost in unconscious absorption in the everlasting nothingness which India cannot shake off, the same Nirvana we have met before.

It is manifestly impossible within the compass of a single chapter to do justice to so complicated and multiform a system as the Mahayana. The attempt has been made to point out two of the lines of development, Mahayana as a religion or devotion, in which spiritual beings are worshiped, and Mahayana as a regimen or way of life, in which the Future-Bodhisattva, or saint, enters upon the path which in the end will lead to a career of unbounded usefulness in the spiritual world. There is still another, a philosophical development, which was hinted at when mention was made of the Dharmakaya, or the first of the three bodies of the eternal Buddha. This Dharmakaya, or "body of the law," is reality, the actual substance or nature of every being, gods or men, in the whole universe. The other bodies, Sambhogakaya, or "body of bliss," and Nirmanakaya, or "magical body," are manifestations of the ultimate reality in the world of spiritual beings and men. The philosophical problem really hinges on the conception of Dharmakaya, or What is reality? One school, that of the Madhyamikas, makes Dharmakaya, or reality, void or vacuity. They are the philosophical nihilists of Buddhism. "Everything is void," is their conclusion. A second school, that of the Vijñānavādins, the idealists of Buddhism, claims that the only real existences are thoughts, that thoughts do not stand for or reproduce any objective reality. Thoughts can think themselves without a thinker and have no reference to anything outside themselves. It is an eternal illusion that object and subject exist; only thought has any existence whatever. This philosophical development has exerted a deep and lasting influence in all the countries of Eastern Asia where Buddhism was carried.

BUDDHISM AMONG THE PEOPLES

The Buddhism of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam is Hinayana.

The religion was carried in this form to Annam, Cochinchina, and Cambodia, now parts of the French empire in the Far East. It also made its way to the island world of the Dutch East Indies and took root in Java, Bali, and Sumatra. This was long ago, for when Islam penetrated the eastern archipelago in the sixteenth century the religion of the Buddha disappeared. Driven out of Java, those who remained true to their faith fled to the little island of Bali, but even there most have become Saivites and little Buddhism is to be found. Strange to say, it is a question whether the Mahayana or the Hinayana was the more prominent in the islands, for both give evidence of having been preached successfully. It is exceedingly interesting to find the ruins of magnificent Mahayana buildings so many hundreds of miles away from the lands where this form of the faith has had its characteristic growth and development. Differing from the experience in India proper, Buddhism, after a desperate conflict with Hinduism in Burma, Siam, and the other lands of Farther India, came out victorious and remains in possession of the field to this day.

But is it really the religion of the people? Outwardly it would seem so. All these lands are filled with the paraphernalia of the Buddhist religion: temples and monasteries, pagodas and images are to be found everywhere. Each country has its own characteristic forms, but each gives ample evidence on every hand of its Buddhist allegiance. The monks are there, and services and festivals are held, to which the people come in gala dress, enjoying the occasions to the full. With all this, however, the hold of Buddhism on the inner lives of the people is precarious. A man's inner convictions are revealed in the time of crisis, when sorrow and suffering and loss stare him in the face. What is his religion then? Which way does he turn for help and comfort? The testimony from these southern lands is that it is not to the monks and the Buddha, but to the old spirits and sprites of the animism which was theirs before the coming of Buddhism. As a recent writer has said, "But even in these lands, where, to the visitor, there appears

to be so true a devotion to the Buddha, all the Buddhists have other religions to which they turn in time of trouble."¹¹

It is also unfortunate that the monks have to so large an extent lost the confidence of the people. Of course there are many exceptions. Worthy and good men, pure in life and motive, are to be found, but the general reputation the monks have is that they lead idle, useless lives and have not succeeded in overcoming the temptations of the flesh, which was a matter of such deep concern on the part of Gautama. In Burma the religion has penetrated more deeply into the life of the people than in any other of the Hinayana countries. This is doubtless due to the fact that education has been in the hands of the monks, who thus are able to instill Buddhist ideas into the minds of the people while they are young and impressionable. It is also customary in Burma for a young man to give a certain time to monastic life. These features of the religious life of Burma have succeeded in keeping the people in close touch with their religious teachers. In Siam the king is the chief patron of Buddhism. The heads of the order must be nominated by the king, who honors the monks and supports them lavishly. The recent king, an enlightened and progressive man, educated in England, undertook his religious task seriously, doing all he could to make the religion a power in the kingdom. In Ceylon and Burma there is a reform movement, made up of cultured people who desire to go back to the simplicity of the practice and teaching of the Buddha and also to interpret the faith more in accord with Western culture and the teachings of the schools. They have preaching halls with sermons and the recitation of a creed. Whether there is enough that is distinctive in the faith to hold the minds and hearts of men and women as they emerge into the strong current of modern life with all its problems is a grave question, which can only be settled by the test of time and experience.

In the north Buddhism has penetrated China, Korea, and Japan. The faith here is of the Mahayana type, and is fre-

¹¹ C. H. S. Ward, *Outline of Buddhism*, p. 129.

quently called Northern Buddhism. But besides these countries, the religion has taken deep root in the great elevated plateau, the hinterland of Asia. Beginning its career in Tibet, it has pushed farther and farther to the north and northeast until one arm has swung around and come in contact with Chinese Buddhism in the capital city of Peking. It also is to be found in the little Himalayan states between India and Tibet. So distinct is this form of Buddhism that it deserves special treatment. It has been given the name of Lamaism, from the monks, who are called "lamas," although that term belongs rightly to the abbots, meaning as it does "superior" or "better." Tibetan history begins with the coming of Buddhism into the country in the seventh century A. D. It came in through two wives of an able chieftain, one from Nepal and the other from China, both of which countries had received Buddhism centuries before. The peculiarity which at once attracts attention is the doctrine of incarnation, known nowhere else in Buddhism. It did not become a fully accepted doctrine until the seventeenth century. Since then it has been held that the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (also Padmapani) was incarnate in the Dalai Lama, the ruler of the country. Other Grand Lamas have their seats in different sections, all claiming to be incarnations of Bodhisattvas, but none can approach the Dalai Lama in earthly majesty because of his possession of the scepter of the land. When the Dalai, or "Great," Lama dies, the rule is placed in the hand of some young boy who gives evidence (by strange and varied signs) that Avalokita has taken up his abode in him. He is then acclaimed as the new incarnation, and he holds sway, religiously and politically, until his death.

The gods and spiritual beings of Lamaism form a populous and strange pantheon. All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the Mahayana are there. The name of Amitabha begins to appear, the being who was destined to take first place in the countries of Eastern Asia. Besides these there are "healing" Buddhas and every kind of tutelary deity, kings of the four cardinal points of the compass, Yama the judge of the dead, and finally spirits and demons, and saints who have passed over

into the great beyond. Idolatry as well as polytheism has run mad, and images of all these beings are displayed and worshipped everywhere. The center of the religion is, of course, the monastic life. There are said to be over three thousand monasteries, or Lamasaries, in Tibet, the largest in the capital, Lhasa, containing as many as ten thousand monks. Waddell¹² emphasizes the terrible effect of Buddhist monasticism on Tibet. The country has steadily declined in power and numbers, the population now being less than a tenth of its former size. He declares there is "one monk for every three of the entire lay community, including the women and children. . . . The population is, presumably as a consequence of overmonasticism, steadily drifting toward extinction."

Buddhism has raised the people out of certain depths of savagery, but the notorious impurity of the monks and the hardness and cruelty of nature and man in this forbidding land have done little to inculcate high ideals of life. The idea of recompense in heavens and hells and the fear of evil spirits has taken strong hold until the religion is one of fear and terror. All the poor layman wants of religion is to secure charms against these spirits. It has become almost pure magic. He repeats sacred formulas; he writes them on paper and swallows them; he inscribes them on cloth and allows them to flutter in the wind; he devises so-called "prayer cylinders" and mechanically grinds out the charmed petitions as he walks or works; he even harnesses them to water-wheels and thus nature assists him in his "devotions." Such is Buddhism at its worst, in a land exhausted physically and spiritually by priestcraft, for which there seems little hope without the coming of a gospel which shall save them from themselves and the strange devisings of their hearts.

Buddhism probably reached China in the first century after Christ, but it did not spread rapidly until the fourth century, when the Chinese were allowed to become monks. One of the most remarkable events was the coming of Bodhidharma,

¹² Article, "Lamaism," in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

the Patriarch of Indian Buddhism, who took up his abode in China in the year 526. Buddhism was not well suited to China and has never ceased to be a kind of exotic. The idle life of the monks who performed no productive labor seemed strangely irrational to the practical Chinese, and the idea of celibacy was repugnant to a people who believed as much as they believed anything that not to be married and have sons was a sin of the deepest dye. The religion has suffered a number of bitter persecutions. In the eighth century twelve thousand monks and nuns were compelled to come back into ordinary life and behave themselves like other folks. In the ninth century four thousand six hundred monasteries were destroyed and more than two hundred and sixty thousand members of the order were compelled to become secular. But Buddhism could not be driven out and remains a force in the land to this day.

The reason for this lies undoubtedly in the fact that it brought into the life of the people elements which were otherwise wanting. A spiritual world, gods who were human and full of compassion, rewards in another life, the mediation of the monks who stand between the gods and men—all these features of the Mahayana made an irresistible appeal to the Chinese and explain the presence of Buddhism among them. The pantheon is not so spacious as that of Tibet, but the Chinese Buddhists worship Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, saints, and patriarchs, and tutelary deities. Gautama holds a high place, though Amitabha is first in the popular thought, since he rules the western paradise, to which they desire to be admitted through his mercy. Kwanyin, whom we met in Tibet as Avalokitesvara, has now been transformed into a female divinity and is worshiped as the goddess of mercy. Pagodas are to be found everywhere and have become a part of the nature superstition of the people. The people come to the monks for all kinds of assistance, even the rich and educated on occasion. Yet with all that, the people should not be counted as Buddhists; only the monks and nuns are to be reckoned as such in any proper sense. The Chinese come to Buddhism because of needs otherwise unmet, but many who do so do not

exactly *belong* to the religion by inward allegiance and appropriation.

Buddhism expanded eastward from China by way of Korea. In Korea the religion took deep hold and for centuries was the dominant religious influence in the country. In 1392 A. D. a new dynasty came to the throne which proved to be unfriendly to the Buddhists. The monks were excluded from the capital city and were not encouraged in any place. As a result the immense establishments have dwindled until the aspect of Buddhism is that of decrepitude. Dr. H. Hackmann speaks of the picture of Korean Buddhism as "on the whole a very dull and faded one."¹³ Temples and monasteries are still found, exemplifying some unique artistic traits peculiar to the country, but for the most part their best days seem to be in the past. An effort is now being made by Japanese Buddhists to put new life into the old forms, and only time will show what vitality there may be in this movement. The Korean people as a whole have reverted to the old animism of pre-Buddhist days and seem far more intent on exorcising demons than on paying reverence to some Buddha or Bodhisattva.

We do not know just when the new faith reached Japan. In 552 A. D. an embassy from the king of Korea gave a formal introduction to the doctrine, which was to some extent already known. By the time the great imperial minister Shotoku Taishi died in 621 A. D. Buddhism may be said to have been acclimated. Shotoku embraced the faith and gave himself to wholehearted advocacy of the new movement. Far more than in China and Korea the faith of the Buddha has entered into the life of the nation and the people. It cannot be understood out of its relations with the whole course of the nation's history. For a thousand years it was the religion of the common people and the upper classes as well. But early in the seventeenth century a reaction set in and Buddhism has more or less ceased to be the power it had been in the lives of the educated and the gentry. It remained what it is today, the religion of the people.

¹³ *Buddhism as a Religion*, p. 257.

Divided into a number of powerful sects, in some cases very different from each other, the religion keeps up its forms and even its life, and is seeking to assimilate the various factors of the new age which has dawned. Again it is too early to estimate the strength inherent in these new developments. Theological schools, under the direction of highly educated and devoted men, are working earnestly to provide a more worthy priesthood. Modern methods of propaganda and instruction are being introduced to overcome the inertia of centuries of indolence and ignorance on the part of the village priests. It is really a progressive religion, showing signs of real inner rejuvenation. Buddhism is more progressive and is in a more flourishing condition in Japan than in any other country.

It is a far call from Ceylon to Japan; it is even farther from Gautama to present-day Buddhism. The remarkable part of it all is that we should still continue to call by the name of the Buddha a religion which is so varied and contains such contradictory elements in its various sects and in the different countries of its adoption. What the Buddha taught is denied, and what he repudiated is practiced by those who would never admit the charge of unorthodoxy. They speak of these changes as developments which lay in germ in the mind of the great master. One might be inclined to doubt the validity of this claim and yet justify the title "Buddhism" to all the forms the religion has assumed. All recognize that Gautama was the human founder of the faith of which historically they are a part. All believe that his ideas were living and germinal, and that it is possible to live in general agreement with the inner meaning of his purpose even though the actual doctrines may seem to contradict much that he taught. They find sorrow in the world as he did and are seeking to cure it; they are quite willing to follow his ethical demands as far better than anything they have known; they look to him as the pure example of loving service and find it difficult to measure up to his unselfish life. In all these regards they are true followers of Gautama and consider it an honor to be known by his name, so lasting is the influence of a life nobly lived.

Most unfortunately, practice has fallen far behind precept. That, of course, is true in all religions, but here barriers exist which cannot be removed. The doctrine has always been above the heads of the people, whether in the teaching of Gautama or in its later developments. What has been given to them is far removed from the sublime teaching of the schools, into the depths of which few could enter. Monasticism has been a bar to all progress, and Buddhism has always brought the monk and the monastery. It has produced a deep cleavage in human life between the religious man and the laity, and it has never succeeded, except in a few cases, in producing the type of character at which it aimed. Monasticism has hung like a pall over people who needed to see the light, and who, if they did not see it in the lives of their religious leaders, would never see it at all.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism* (London, first edit. 1877, many subsequent editions). The best-known manual on the early teaching.
- Kenneth J. Saunders, *Gotama Buddha* (New York, 1920).
- Kenneth J. Saunders, *Epochs in Buddhist History* (Chicago, 1924).
- H. Hackmann, *Buddhism as a Religion* (London, 1910). The best volume on the developments in the faith in the various lands of its adoption.
- George Foot Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. I, Chaps. V, VII, XII.
- C. H. S. Ward, *Outline of Buddhism* (London, 1934).
- Edward J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (New York, 1927). The most extensive discussion of the problem of the life of the Buddha and his teaching.
- James Bissett Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrimage* (New York, 1928). A complete discussion of the religion in all the countries in which it is found.
- Edward J. Thomas, *Early Buddhist Scriptures* (London, 1935). Selections of translations with brief introductions.

CHAPTER IX

THE RELIGION OF THE CHINESE

THE EARLY RELIGION

WHAT the original religion of the Chinese has been the subject of much controversy. Before the existence of any records which have come down to us several types of religious belief had been formulated, and the question is, Which of them came out of the earliest religious attitude? A study of the Chinese written character for the Supreme Being would indicate that the idea back of it was monotheistic, and undoubtedly there has been the conception from an early day of a Being raised high above all others in the spiritual world. At the same time evidences of animistic conceptions are so numerous at every period that it is impossible to believe the Chinese were ever without them. Probably the most reasonable conclusion is that reached by Dr. W. E. Soothill,¹ who is inclined to believe that animism first prevailed, but that long before we have any records the recognition of one Supreme Being over a real universe arose, so that we have two conceptions, a lower and a higher, through the long course of the history of Chinese religion.

We are on safe ground when we speak of the religion of the Chinese. It is commonly stated that there are three religions in the country, not to mention Mohammedanism, which has always been looked upon as strange and foreign. These are Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. But underneath them all and expressing itself through them all is a religious attitude and life which existed for centuries before the formal religions arose and which has not been changed essentially by them. The thoroughgoing conservatism of the Chinese people is seen in as complete a manner here as it would be possible

¹ *The Three Religions of China* (2d edit.), Chap. V.

to imagine. The gaze of the Chinese has been directed backward for millenniums, and all their ideals have been in the past. We live in the period when for the first time in their recorded history these lovers of antiquity have come to realize that their only hope lies in a change of front. They are asking for all the West may have to offer. What the ultimate effect will be no one can even guess. It may be safe to say that Chinese nature will not be fundamentally changed—it is too tough of fiber for that—but what the outcome of this eager willingness to learn of the younger nations will be is one of the most interesting questions before us today.

The most characteristic form which religion has taken in China is crudely animistic. All nature and all its parts are possessed of spirits, good and bad, strong and weak. They are to be found everywhere, on the mountains, among the trees, in the ground, and under the water. Everything that happens is accounted for by the action of spirits. Sickness is caused by demons within the body which must be exorcised. A child drowns not by any natural cause, but because a fiendish spirit caught the child from under the water and drew him down. These spirits flit about through the air, invisible but exceedingly real. Streets must be made crooked because these imps move in straight lines and can be stopped in their wild career by a wall. Houses must be so constructed that a solid wall shall be opposite every gate and door and window. The whole life of the people is governed by their fear of these dangerous beings, and much of their religion consists in attempts to drive them away. Exorcism, then, plays a large part in this low and yet all-prevalent superstition, and many are its forms. The spirits are divided between those that are good and benevolent (shen) and the evil-minded (kwei). To secure the assistance of a powerful shen is the best means of chasing off the harmful kwei. The sun is a shen of the highest order, and to secure his co-operation is to have the benefit of the most powerful influence in the contest. Everything connected with the sun is efficacious. By a subtle magic the peach blossom, because it appears as the harbinger of the spring, when the sun again assumes control

of nature, is an omen of good. The actual blossoms are replaced by red paper, which has the same value. Out of the peach tree, on the same principle, a number of native remedies are concocted. So, again, the blood of the cock may ward off danger, and cocks are used as charms and in the making of medicines, because the cock crows as the herald of the rising of the sun! The tiger, because of some hazy connection with the sun, may bring good fortune. And naturally light and heat are agencies of beneficence. Bonfires, firecrackers, torches, lanterns, candles, all kinds of noises, scorching and cauterizing the skin—whatever suggests or is derived from fire may be used to bring good luck or prevent misfortune. This is only a slight suggestion of the many forms the superstition takes. Whatever else he may be religiously the Chinese is a believer in spirits and in the necessity of exorcism. He may be ashamed of his belief, but he has recourse nevertheless to the exorcists when he gets into a tight place. He wants at least to be on the safe side in a world so strange and fearsome. It has colored all his thoughts and has kept him down to a level far below what one has the right to expect of so cultivated a people.

There is another side to this animistic attitude which is even more characteristic. It is ancestor-worship. Men participate with nature in being possessed of spirits which make them what they are. Even a living man, like the governor of a province who has done well by his people, may be deified and be accorded religious rites with no sense of incongruity. But especially men are worshiped after their death. It takes the form of the worship of ancestors and is so universally practiced and so implicitly believed in that it has been looked upon as the very center and nerve of Chinese religion. Death in no sense breaks the bond between the members of a family. The family consists of its dead as well as its living members, and, strangely enough to us, the dead members are more important than the living. All the arrangements of the household must be made with the well-being and the comfort of the dead primarily in mind. It is carried to the extent that it becomes an intolerable burden. A most extensive ritual is connected with the wor-

ship. The funeral must be as elaborate and expensive as the family can stand; frequently they go beyond the bounds of reason and plunge into debt. The sacrifices are carefully prescribed, and the utmost care is taken to see that all the rites are carried out to the letter. The choice of a site and the time for a burial are of tragic importance, and frequently large sums are squandered on Fung-Shui, or "wind-and-water," doctors, to determine the lucky spot for the grave and the propitious time for the interment. It may be long delayed, and China presents the spectacle of thousands of unburied coffins kept above ground for weeks and months by this kind of hocus-pocus. It is a bondage from which the Chinese should be freed, but nowhere is the influence of immemorial custom more evident the world over than in the beliefs and practices connected with death and burial.

The ideas that lie back of the practices are the important thing. Filial piety is the first of the Chinese virtues. It is extended beyond the grave because the dead parent continues to be as much a part of the family as before. To all the inducements which existed while the parent was living to show him reverence and honor is added that of the uncanny and mysterious fact that the soul has passed out into the unknown land of the shades and may possess powers and influence even more potent and surely more incalculable than he possessed in life. To the motive of respect must be added that of fear. What might not happen to the family if the sacrifices were neglected and the shade should be deprived of the support which it has a right to expect? Above all the other duties that of being married and having sons in order to continue the sacrifices down through the generations is the most urgent. Mencius, the great follower and interpreter of Confucius, declared, "Three things are unfilial, and having no sons is the worst." This deeply ingrained conviction has driven the Chinese to two practices—polygamy and adoption. The effect has been that woman has been looked upon as of little value in herself; only as she fulfills her function and becomes the mother of sons is she considered worthy of honor. In a real sense a man's

possessions belong to his ancestors, so no living man has the right to dispose of what in the final analysis is not his. So a daughter marrying out of the family receives practically nothing—it belongs to the ancestors and must not be taken from them. Shall we call this whole attitude toward ancestors one of worship or something of lesser significance? Some have said that it is of the same nature as the respect we show our deceased loved ones and friends and should not be taken too seriously, but when the matter is seen in all its relationships there is little wonder that the large majority of first-hand investigators have no hesitation in calling it worship in the most real sense. As Professor J. J. M. DeGroot puts it, a Chinese "may renounce all other gods, but his ancestors he will renounce last and least of all."² It is not an exalted type of worship and is carried on all too often to obtain material advantage and welfare. As such it holds out no hope that, so long as it remains worship, it can make the contribution it should in Chinese life.

The all-prevailing animism and ancestor worship which have been described do not complete the round of early Chinese religion. There is a State religion, based on the same principles, but with a very different development. It shows the mind of the Chinese in a far better light. Again going back to the days before records were kept, the animistic attitude of mind laid hold on the greater objects of nature, personified them more or less, and raised them to a dignity not possessed by the other objects of worship. The heavenly bodies, the earth and its subdivisions, and, above all, the incomparable heavenly sphere became the great gods of China. These objects were not supposed to be worshiped by the people themselves. They were restricted to their own ancestors. The august worship of the great gods became the official duty of government officials, of the governors and the emperor. To the last alone was reserved the worship of High Heaven, the supreme religious act of Chinese religion. It must be remembered, however, that in each case the emperor performed the rites not for

² *Religion of the Chinese*, p. 86.

his own sake but on behalf of all the people. He is looked upon as the father of those over whom he is set to rule, and as a father he worships for them.

The climax of the whole system is the worship of Heaven, performed by the emperor at the capital city on the occasion of the longest night of the year. With beautiful suggestiveness it is performed that night because it is when the forces of cold and darkness in the world have done their worst, the time when again the shortening days cease to become shorter and the kindly influences of the sun begin again to regain power and give the first promise of the coming glory of spring and summer. Here under the open sky, with no shelter from the elements, upon a circular terraced marble platform is performed one of the most remarkable religious sacrifices known in the whole range of religious history. There is a sublimity about the ritual which betokens a high conception of its significance. Prayers are offered which with little change might be used in Christian churches. The worship is offered to Heaven, or Shang-ti. The term "Tien" is also used. Some have thought that Shang-ti contains more of personal implication than Tien, like the distinction we frequently make between "God" and "Providence," but others consider the two terms identical. So lofty is the conception that "Shang-ti" has been generally agreed upon as the word by which the Christian conception of "God" should be translated into Chinese. There is nothing unworthy in the conception in any way. It gives evidence of the existence from the earliest times of a noble and uplifting view of God and of what he requires of men. What of this State religion now that China has ceased to be an empire and has declared a republic? To make such a declaration is relatively easy; it is a far different matter to change the fundamental bent of a people's mind. So ingrained is the paternalistic idea that the so-called "president" of the republic twice boldly dared to act as the "father" of his people and conduct the worship of Shang-ti as aforesaid. All is in turmoil and confusion at the present time with the Japanese in control of the old capital Peiping (Peking), and it is impossible to

predict the future. It is very sad that this, the most exalted feature of Chinese religion, should be in eclipse when there is so much need of what such a conception might have of influence on Chinese ideas and Chinese life.

CONFUCIUS AND HIS CONTRIBUTION

Confucius lived from 551 to 478 B. C. These dates may be depended on as accurate, even though scholars are far more conservative now than formerly relative to Chinese dates before Christ. According to Chinese chronology the country was ruled by the model emperors, Yao, Shun, and Yü, about twenty-two hundred years before our era. It is not, however, until we come to the period of the Chao Dynasty, 1122-256 B. C., that definite dates can be assigned with any confidence. Confucius lived in this period, when China was divided into many small states, frequently at war with each other and owning not much more than nominal allegiance to the weak authority of the central government. This unsatisfactory condition lasted until the Chao Dynasty went to pieces, to be succeeded for a short but memorable period by the Chin Dynasty (256-205 B. C.). The one great ruler during these years was Shi Huang-ti, who has been called the Napoleon of China. He abolished the feudal form of government and effectively established a centralized empire in the form which lasted down to the destruction of the Manchu power and the setting up of the republic in 1911-12. He is also to be remembered as the builder of the Great Wall, which was intended to be a barrier to protect the empire from the encroachments of the wild nomadic tribesmen, always watching for the opportunity to sweep down on the rich country to the south. He is also remembered by the Chinese with execration because in vain conceit he attempted to destroy utterly the classical literature and by so doing inaugurate a new era which should begin with himself and his period. It may be remarked in passing that the name "China" is said to be derived from the name of this dynasty, the Chin.

In the midst of the unsettled days of the Chao Dynasty when China was languishing for want of a strong central authority,

when warfare occupied the attention of the distracted people instead of agriculture, when education was neglected and plague, pestilence, and famine stalked through the land, Confucius was born. His birthplace was in the state of Lu, in the western part of the modern province of Shantung. His father was an old man of seventy when he married a young woman, who soon became the mother of the sage. His lot as a young boy was not easy, his father dying when his little son was only three. We are able to say with certainty that Confucius was married at nineteen and had one son. His married life cannot be called a success. He ceased to live with his wife after a short time and we hear little more of her. His son appears at intervals in the story and seems to have become one of his disciples. Early in his career Confucius was appointed keeper of the state granaries, then guardian of the common lands. For a considerable time he was wholly devoted to teaching and labored at a new edition of the ancient odes and historical records. When he was about fifty he became a magistrate in his native state and was promoted until he became what we should call the minister of justice. His tenure did not last long, but it was not on account of his failure or unfaithfulness. In fact, he did his work only too well, with the result that the state of Lu advanced to a position of commanding importance among the states. The prince of a neighboring state was full of envious resentment and determined to end the progress being made by Lu. He devised a plan as diabolical as it was successful. He sent the prince of Lu a present of some magnificent racing horses and a bevy of beautiful dancing girls. It was too much for the prince of Lu. He lost all interest in the welfare of his people and gave himself to pleasure and indulgence. Confucius protested, but to deaf ears. He lost his position and was compelled to see the work of his hand dissipated before his eyes.

The sage was so convinced that the experiment he had made in his native state might prove of permanent value in any state which would earnestly apply his principles that he spent the next period of more than twelve years wandering among the

feudal states trying to induce one prince after another to let him try his schemes and bring peace and order out of the chronic confusion. He never succeeded, but with all his discouragements never lost heart and became pessimistic. He was convinced until the end that he possessed the secret of statecraft and could make any kingdom prosperous by the sincere co-operation of the ruler in the application of his principles. But for one reason or another he failed to convince a single prince and was compelled to abandon his purpose and return to his native state and his early home. There he lived the remainder of his life as a private citizen, surrounded by an enlarging circle of admiring disciples, and completed his literary labors. He edited the classical literature which already had a history in his time, adding but one comparatively insignificant portion, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, from his own pen. There in the year 478 B. C., at the ripe old age of seventy-three, Confucius died and was buried. His tomb is well marked at the present time, is visited by thousands of pilgrims each year, and is destined, one may surely say, to increase in interest, not only among the Chinese but among men of every nation as they come to recognize the noble example and the high ideals represented by the sage.

For a hundred years Confucius did not receive the recognition which his disciples felt was his due. Then arose Mencius, the second greatest of China's sages, and by his advocacy and enthusiastic admiration raised his master to a pedestal from which he has never been dislodged. Increasingly Confucius has been looked upon as the embodiment of everything good in China, and the hold he has been able to secure on the imagination and conscience of the Chinese is as complete as could well be conceived. The temporary neglect which has followed the recent inrush of ideas from the West cannot in the end divorce the Chinese from their admiration for one who more than any other has made China great, and who must play a large part in the making of the China which is to be. He understood the mind of China, and that mind will not be fundamentally altered. With all the changes—and many are needed

to bring China into line with the needs of the modern world—the thought of Confucius must play its part in so far as it is the expression of the genius of the Chinese mind.

What was his contribution? Very little religiously. All that has been described as the early religion of the people was in full force in his day as it is in our own time. He did not condemn it, he did not criticize it, he did not add to it—he simply took it for granted. His temper of mind was essentially practical; he seemed always to be averse to any discussion of spiritual or purely philosophical matters. He claimed to be agnostic concerning the next life and the world of the gods. His mind was immersed in the affairs of this life, with conduct, the development of character, the relations of man with man, with the State and all the complicated affairs of government. On these he considered he had an opinion worth while, of which it would be well for men, from the ruler to the humblest peasant, to take earnest heed. He was a political reformer, and this meant for Confucius the organization of society in accordance with high ethical principles. Along with this went the most careful attention to the culture of the individual self, the development of the ideal or “superior man.” Confucius claimed that the principles which guided him in all his advice came down out of the past and were as old as the eternal hills. He maintained that he was not an originator but a transmitter, one who had discovered a mine of wisdom in the practice of the ancients, who stood out in his mind as the paragons of all excellence. To conserve what had been handed down was to him the sum of all virtue. Of all preposterous things the thought that anything new could be compared with advantage with the old and the tried was the height of absurdity. This tenacious conservatism, which was rooted and grounded in his deepest nature, has had its lasting influence on Chinese thought and practice.

The Confucian ideal of the superior man finds its best exemplification in Confucius himself, though he in his modesty makes no claim to personal attainment of the ideal he has described. It is the picture of a dignified and grave gentleman, somewhat stooped by study and earnest thought, holding him-

self in perfect and dignified control, allowing himself no levity and others no familiarity, ready to offer advice to all and seeking by the power of example and admonition to lead others in the strait and narrow way. There is nothing of the free-and-easy so common in the West. Every act and every relationship must be carefully regulated according to well-thought-out principles. A rather unattractive combination, would be the verdict of the typical man in our unconventional life. And so it seems as we think of the effect it had even in Confucius' own day. It must have been somewhat difficult for Confucius' wife to be compelled to get along with a companion in whom every impulse to spontaneity was suppressed as a temptation of the devil. The one or two conversations which are reported between the sage and his son while still in his tender years show not the slightest comprehension of boy nature. No intimacy could grow up between father and son on the basis of such scrupulous formality. He who would regulate every action, even to the position to be taken in bed, could scarcely win a boy's heart. Yet Confucius himself from the time he was a little boy had preferred playing at etiquette and ceremonies to the boisterous play of other boys. We may smile as we think of a man punctiliously molding his life in accordance with a rigid scheme which seems to us to be devoid of living interest and practical benefit, but such was Confucius, and we cannot withhold our admiration when we realize that it was not a vain whim, but the result of careful thought and calculated to bring out of life its very best. He sincerely desired to be a good man whose example might be followed with only beneficial results by all with whom he came into contact.

In the estimation of Confucius human nature is naturally good. The function of rules and regulations is to guide the development of the individual in the right channels and thus prevent the deterioration which might ensue if the wrong course should be followed. A man must depend on his own unaided powers to achieve maturity of character, but this was not so hard, because of his natural goodness. He must seek to develop by the unfolding of his own inner nature and thus be

true to himself. Confucius was compelled to recognize that the task was easier for some than for others. Some seem to possess the necessary knowledge and ability almost intuitively, others learn easily, but must nevertheless apply themselves to learn, still others are able to acquire knowledge with difficulty, while there are those who will not learn, either through indifference or willful ignorance. But whatever condition may confront a man, the admonition of the sage is to make the very most of himself. Religion, it is quite evident, did not enter into his scheme of human life. Very little prayer would suffice and sacrifice had only a subjective influence. He confessed that he could not enter into the meaning of the yearly sacrifice to Shang-ti. He did not object to ancestor-worship, because it encouraged and enforced the obligation of filial piety, and such conduct was the cornerstone of his system of relationships.

But with all his interest in the development of individual character Confucius was primarily interested in society and the State. He believed that man could not live alone, but that he had relationships which were necessary and inevitable. These relationships came to assume such importance that it would almost seem that society and the State were more important than the individuals of which they were composed. He worked out a scheme intended to cover all the relations of human life. They are called the Five Relations, those of Father and Son, Ruler and Subject, Husband and Wife, Elder and Younger Brother, and Friend and Friend, or better, Benefactor and Client. The significant thing about these couplets is that in each case the first named is looked upon as the superior and the last the inferior, subservient to the other. Human life is thus stereotyped in a rigid balance between those who command and those who obey. By inherent right the father, the ruler, the husband, the elder brother, and the privileged patron, possess rights and privileges not to be questioned by the other party. It may have rendered society static and immovable, which was Confucius' idea, but it has been responsible for gross injustice and abuse. When one possesses all the rights and privileges and the other none that are recognized, society is

lopsided and the full development of all its members becomes impossible.

The State was Confucius' hobby. All his theories were to be measured by their value in relation to the State. He felt that if the sage and the sovereign could be combined in one person, all would be well. Since out of the classical literature all wisdom could be drawn, there was obvious advantage in the sovereign being able to delve in the ancient lore and learn its wisdom for himself. One of his greatest doctrines in statecraft was the power of personal example. The welfare of the State depended more upon the rectitude of the ruler than on any other factor. In fact, the dependence was almost absolute, according to many statements in the ancient literature. Evil in the ruler means eventually a ruined country, and integrity and probity on his part is the first and sure cure for a country's ills. It is almost pathetic the lengths to which this principle was believed to be applicable. With a great truth at its center it laid too heavy a responsibility on a single pair of shoulders and failed to take into account the perversity of human nature no matter how good an example might be set. Confucius believed in reciprocity as the basis of all relationships. He would have men take care not to do to others what they would not want done to themselves. It has been called the negative Golden Rule. It is good and wholesome as far as it goes, but still it is negative. That is the difficulty with the whole system. It lacks in the positive heroic features found in the Sermon on the Mount. Confucius is dignified and cautious and circumspect. He fails to throw out a challenge which by its sheer boldness and audacity drives a man to dare the impossible and persist when everything is against him.

But Confucianism is also a religion. Temples in which the tablets of Confucius and his most noted disciples are displayed are to be found in all the centers, and worship is performed before them as before the tablets of ancestors. The sage has in recent years been canonized and recognized as one of the authorized objects of divine worship. An attempt has been made since the revolution in 1911-12 to have the worship

made the State religion, but the movement came to nothing. It is not along this line that the influence of Confucius is to be felt in the coming years. His work was to provide China with a moral code. He was a sincere patriot and will continue to live in the estimation of his people as the worthy example of one who saw what China might be and bent all his energies to bring that about. All the more is he to be honored in that, with no reward and unappreciated except in his own circle, he never lost faith in his country and gladly gave his all for its best good.

LAOCIUS AND TAOISM

"Laocius" is the Latinized form of Lao-tse, just as "Confucius" is of Kung Fu-tsu, the philosopher Kung. We know little about his life. He was born in 604 B. C., about a half century before Confucius. Once the two met while the younger man was on his wanderings from state to state, but they could not understand each other—they were so utterly different in their whole outlook on life. Laocius is said to have been the keeper of the archives at the imperial court of the Chao Dynasty. He became more and more discouraged as he saw everything going to decay, and finally resigned and retired. But still he was in the midst of the dismay caused by the warring of the feudal states and the supineness of the central power, so he determined upon an even more drastic step. He started off into exile and reached a noted pass in the mountains where the keeper induced him to put down in writing the philosophy which he had worked out and which would otherwise be lost. As a result he remained long enough to put into written form the *Tao Teh King*, a writing containing about five thousand Chinese characters, which he intrusted to the keeper of the pass and then passed on and disappeared. This altogether too picturesque account can scarcely be received, but it is all we know of the story of a very original thinker.

The *Tao Teh King* has been translated into English a number of times, but so difficult is it to understand and render into coherent language that the various translations differ almost

hopelessly. The difficulty starts in the name itself. Beginning with the last word, *King* means "writing" or "classic," *Teh* means "duty," "virtue," or "human responsibility," but what does *Tao* mean? Many definitions have been given, very divergent and in some cases most confusing. The shortest equivalent has been given as the "way." Another is "nature," and still another "Providence." It has also been conceived of as the "order of the universe," "the rotation of the seasons," and even "time." It may be that Doctor Soothill's statement is about as helpful as any that can be found. "Tao, then, may be considered as the eternal and ubiquitous impersonal principle by which the universe has been produced and is supported and governed."³

The aim of the work seems to be to indicate that human duty consists in imitating the Tao or "way" of the universe. Man then becomes a follower of the heavens in their majestic and sublime progress. To learn Tao and imitate it is the good to be sought. Now, what Laocius saw as he looked out on nature was quiet, humility, and self-effacement, placidity, emptiness, freedom from effort. It was the passivity of the processes of nature which impressed him, and man was to follow nature as closely as he could. He must live a life of "inward spontaneity"; he must not be headstrong or self-willed; he must be possessed by a "spirit of inanition." He must not even teach his doctrines; they must shine for themselves. Is there any wonder that Confucius, the apostle of strenuous endeavor, and Laocius, the preacher of the gospel of inactivity, should have been incomprehensible to each other? But Confucius has won the day, and China has gone with him and not with Laocius. But the quietist has had his followers, too, men who retired into the mountains alone and gave themselves to the discipline of nature. They thought they might by so doing become etherealized and even enter the company of the gods. They fasted, believing that a saint needed no food, and became sadly emaciated, and when this did not have the desired effect, they

³ *The Three Religions of China*, 2d edit., p. 16.

sought drugs and elixirs to induce the spiritualized condition they were in search of. They thought that by absorbing the good in nature they might live long and even achieve immortality. They practiced breathing exercises to drink in the good influences of the atmosphere. These strange ascetics did not grow in number nor thrive greatly. Buddhism was abroad in the land and had a more positive aim and a better organized monastic discipline. But these seekers after Tao, the true Taoists, had some influence in China and helped to bring in the belief in immortality, which had been sadly lacking despite the ancestor-worship which was constantly in touch with another world.

But this is not what we know as Taoism today. The modern variety, which still goes under the old name, is the most silly jumble of superstitions that can anywhere be found. It is the worst side of Chinese religion. There is a priesthood, and Taoist temples exist everywhere. Theoretically, the business of the priests is to help the people live in accord with Tao, but practically it is magic run mad. Soothsaying in every imaginable form, by the almanac and combinations of lines, by magical religious ceremonies, incantations, and what not, is carried on by a priesthood which has become skillful in working on the superstitious fears of the people and by so doing keeping them in subjection and terror. The beginnings of Taoism as a formal religion go back to one named Chang Tao-ling, who was born in 34 A. D. He discovered, so it is said, the elixir of immortality, founded a priesthood and hierarchy, and set up a State in the far western province of Sze-chuan, which was put down with much bloodshed. Descended from this ambitious priest a line of so-called Taoist popes has come down through the centuries to our own time. They have for many years been situated far away in an inaccessible mountain retreat in the province of Kiang-si. The "pope" does not exercise the kind of authority his name would indicate, but he is looked upon as the spiritual center of a system which in its sublime beginnings gave promise of a better sequel than the poor excuse of a religion it is now.

CHINESE BUDDHISM

Buddhism exists in China today only because it meets a felt need. The Chinese are practical, and Confucius ministered to that bent with such insight and wisdom that the whole life of the people has been built up around his ideals. He did not feel the need of more than the meagerest amount of spiritual influence and believed that could be supplied out of the religious life which already existed. But he was mistaken. The Chinese have deep spiritual longings and capacity for mystical religion which many are not likely to appreciate. Taoism so soon descended to the level of quackery that all it could do was to trade on the superstitious fears of the people. But still there was an unreachd depth to the Chinese heart which nothing in China had been able to touch. This was the opportunity of Buddhism. Coming for the most part in its Mahayana form with the assurance of being able to bring men into vital contact with the spiritual world, the hearts of many Chinese were touched. There is no other explanation of the career of Buddhism in China, where it has persisted despite the bitterest kind of persecution. The presence of a million Buddhist monks and nuns today speaks eloquently of the hold of the religion on the Chinese mind and heart.

These monks and nuns are scattered widely over the country. They are to be found in little temples in the cities and villages, but here the conditions are not ideal. The usual contempt in which the Buddhist monk is held in China is to be accounted for largely by the conduct of these men, who are in the world and also unfortunately of the world. Their lives are not an example worthy of emulation and have brought discredit to the whole brotherhood. We are assured that many of the monks themselves deplore the condition. They would not for a moment risk their reputation in such company amid such surroundings. To them Buddhism is a gospel to be sincerely followed. They betake themselves to the monasteries where ideals are higher and where laxity is less frequently tolerated. They are not all ideal by any means, but the contrast between them

and the Buddhist centers in most of the cities is very striking. In such retreats they find others likeminded and are able to give themselves uninterruptedly to meditation and worship. Here are pure souls seeking emancipation, who resist wrongdoing and lewdness, and who are reaching out in every way they know how to find the light.

The monks are divided into various schools or sects. It is a difficult subject, on which it has been hard to secure correct information. Many of the monks themselves are not intelligent and add to the confusion. There have been ten principal schools of thought, with subdivisions. Four of the ten schools have disappeared. The six remaining schools fall into two essentially different groups, and between the two the difference is "profound and radical." The members of the first group are the adherents of Ch'an tsung, *Ch'an* meaning "meditation," and *tsung* "school" or "sect." Doctor Joseph Edkins calls them the "esoteric schools." They made inwardness the one needed quality, so meditation was made the fulfillment of the Buddhist ideal. This school was founded by the Patriarch Bodhidharma. He opposed the use of the sacred scriptures and all outward ritual. The "inward look" was sufficient. The attempt was made to empty the consciousness of every idea. It was to be a subjective experience with no objective content; it was pure abstraction. Bodhidharma was called the "Wall-Gazer," from his habit of looking intently at a blank wall as he sought to divest his mind of thought and make it as blank as the wall itself. Everything outward was considered superfluous, and, in the older writings, even the distinction between right and wrong was held to be the imperfection of a lower standpoint above which meditation would lift the seeker. A monk thus becomes indifferent to everything. This school was split up into five subdivisions, each of which became a school or sect. They do not vary greatly, though one, the Lin Chi, took the lead and spread all over China and even into Japan, where we shall meet it under a different name.

The second group, comprising five of the ten original schools, oppose the absolute subjectivism of the Ch'an school and teach

the value of objective content in one's theory, the importance of ritual and ceremonies, and inculcate the reading of the sacred books. There are differences between them, but the important characteristic is the common ground which they take in opposing the negative theory of their rivals. The divergent views which are expressed by Western students of the life in the monasteries would indicate that much investigation is necessary to get at the real facts. The charge that moral laxity is prevalent and that spiritual life is at a low ebb is met by the statement that while that may be the case here and there, the general rule is that real moral earnestness and spiritual aspiration exist in the majority of these retreats. The very fact that a number of the monks themselves feel that they have as a class been misunderstood and maligned should lead the candid student to give them the benefit of the doubt. A more favorable opinion is being made possible by men like Dr. Karl L. Reichelt, the Norwegian Lutheran, who has come into intimate contact with monks far and wide and who has learned to appreciate the lives of many of these men.⁴

Buddhism is also represented among the people in that they come to the temples and have recourse to the monks. They know nothing of the distinction between the schools. They are taught that there are gods, the loving Amida and the merciful Kwan-yin, who will hear their prayers and receive their sacrifices. They are also told that there is a heaven of bliss which they may attain and dreadful hells which they may escape by throwing themselves on the mercy of these benevolent beings. This is sufficient. There is no message like that in the other religions; it answers the craving and the fear in their hearts. They do not throw over their other religious practices in thus coming to a Buddhist temple. It has been said⁵ that the several religions of China answer to moods in the Chinese soul. Confucianism makes plain their duty, Taoism ministers to their

⁴ See his *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, revised and enlarged edit.

⁵ W. J. Clennell, *The Historical Development of Religion in China*, p. 13.

superstitious fears, and Buddhism opens up the spiritual world and gives them the promise of future blessedness. Buddhism has also accommodated itself to ancestor-worship. It offers prayers for the dead and adds its comfort to the friends and relatives who are concerned about the welfare of their departed in the next world. Buddhism exists in China also in many lay communities or secret societies, about which not much is known. The members try to assist each other on the road to salvation. The monastic idea is not insisted on, but the five moral commandments of the Buddha must be kept. In spite of persecution these societies are very numerous, showing the hunger which exists for the message of a spiritual religion.

Like everything in China, the outward aspect of Buddhism is dingy and run-down. Here and there repairs have been made and at places extensive alterations undertaken, but in general it is the need of renovation which strikes the eye of the visitor. But when this has been said, one must hasten to express his unbounded admiration at the artistic sense and the eye for the appropriate which have been displayed in the choice of temple and monastery sites. Whether on the rock-bound island of Puto, where the waves are never still, or the Little Orphan island which raises its sharp crest far above the waters of the mighty Yang-tse which surround it, or the lovely stillness of the shaded crest of Kushan Mountain near Foochow, it is always the same. By an unerring instinct the pioneers of Buddhism in China found the places of beauty and claimed them for the practice of religion. The Chinese may be practical and materialistic, but this is only half the tale. There is a depth to their nature which Buddhism has touched, but which still remains unsounded—a love of beauty and a craving after the things of the spirit.

China is at the present hour (1938) in turmoil and deep distress. The revolution of 1911-12 under Sun Yat-sen swept the Manchu Dynasty from the throne and substituted what was intended to be a republican form of government. This is not the place to trace its history. The significant fact is that the Chinese have not been permitted to work out their problems

unmolested. Japan has stepped in and the future "lies in the lap of the gods." During this period of political upheaval all kinds of intellectual, moral, and religious movements have been launched in various parts of the country. There was for a time a vigorous anti-Christian campaign which was paralleled and frequently joined with an antireligious movement. Communism, which is still a power in the land, lent its help in both these opposition movements. Nationalism has had many of the same results found in Western lands. It has almost become a religion, with Sun Yat-sen its chief divinity. There are all kinds of liberalizing tendencies which would reinterpret Confucianism and Buddhism and bring them into line with modern scientific thought. With confusion worse confounded in China today it is impossible to estimate the strength of these trends and to know where they will lead.⁶ All this is accentuated by the heartrending experiences of the war with the invading Japanese. We do not know what the conditions during the next decade will be. We may be sure, however, that everything in Chinese life is being subjected to an overhauling such as it has never known before. There can be no doubt that religion will share deeply in the changes which will surely come. We can be equally sure that what has been developed in the past will not be lost, but will play its part in making the religion of China during the constructive days which must follow the turmoil of today.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

J. J. M. DeGroot, *The Religion of the Chinese* (New York, 1910).
A very valuable short manual.

W. E. Soothill, *The Three Religions of China* (2d edit., London, 1923). Valuable in itself and needed to correct certain statements made by DeGroot.

R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China* (New York, 1913). Especially valuable on modern Buddhism.

Miles M. Dawson, *The Ethics of Confucius* (New York, 1912).
Translations with running comment.

⁶ See Chas. S. Braden, *Modern Tendencies in World Religions*, Chap. III.

George Foot Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. I, Chaps. I-IV.

Kenneth S. Latourette, *The Chinese, Their History and Culture*, 2 Vols. (New York, 1934). Exceedingly valuable for historical background.

Lewis Hodous, *Folkways in China* (London, 1929). Valuable for the animistic background of the religions of China.

Charles S. Braden, *Modern Tendencies in World Religions* (New York, 1933). Chap. III, Modern Tendencies in China.

CHAPTER X

THE RELIGIONS OF JAPAN

SHINTO

JAPAN received her civilization from China. It is not known when the influence began to be felt, but the process was complete by the end of the seventh century of our era. About everything which goes to make up the life of a people came to Japan from across the sea, from the mother country of all Far Eastern culture. By way of the peninsula of Korea these influences were flowing in for several centuries until in the end Japan had entered the stream of history, and her course can be followed step by step from that time to our own. The cultivation of the silkworm, the language and literature of China, the ethical system of Confucius and the religion of the Buddha—all these and much else came in and transformed Japan into a civilized country. Not, then, for the first time in her history did Japan in the nineteenth century show an eager willingness to receive from other peoples what was necessary for her to take her place by the side of the progressive nations of the world. She was only doing what she had done before, thus proving her willingness to learn from others whenever it is to her advantage to do so. But by the side of this characteristic must be placed another which is just as important if we are to understand the meaning of Japanese life and civilization. On everything which Japan has ever received from the outside she has not failed to put her own stamp. The sign-manual of Japan is indelibly attached to all she produces, making it her own unique output. There must be, then, a very distinctive and tenacious Japanese racial fiber, which, while assimilating with avidity all that may be offered, succeeds in giving it a character which no one can mistake. At no point is this to be seen to better advantage than in Japanese religious develop-

ment. This makes it incumbent to study with care the religious life of the people before the coming of religion from China.

The early religion is known as Shinto. This is itself a Chinese word, or two words, both of which we have met before. *Shin* is the same as the Chinese *Shen*, which means "good spirits," while *to* is the same as *tao*, the "way," as it may be translated for short. The religion, then, is the "way of the Good Spirits," or the "way of the Gods." The equivalent name in pure Japanese is *Kami no Michi*, *Michi* meaning "way" or "road," *no* being the possessive, and *Kami* meaning the "deities" or "gods." The word *Kami* is the clue to the whole system. It denotes that which is above, any power or influence which can accomplish what man cannot prevent and is stronger and wiser than he. It is something he must look up to as possessing strength. All the evidences of power he saw and felt around him in wind and storm were proof of the existence of what was higher than he could attain. There are many *Kami*, presiding over all the phases of life. Thus it is seen that as in all other countries the earliest form of religion in Japan was nature-worship. The cult was exceedingly simple. Unpainted, unadorned wooden shrines were the centers of worship. No images were present in the early day, though the presence of the spirits was indicated by fluttering pieces of notched paper. A gong above the entrance could be sounded to call the attention of the spirits to the coming of worshipers. Lustrations preceded the clapping of the hands and the offering of the brief prayers. There was no sacred book, no doctrine to be believed, and no code of laws to be followed. Of all the religions of primitive peoples none has ever been found more simple and unencumbered than the early religion of Japan.

Yet the people were intensely religious. Wayside shrines were numerous, and various lesser divinities like the Kitchen God presided over their home life and the daily task. The God of Plenty and the God of Health had their place, as did a hundred others, each with its designated function. Ancestor-worship was everywhere prevalent. To this day no Japanese

household is complete without its god-shelf with the tablets of the deceased before which prayers and sacrifices are offered. Another aspect of Shinto which grew up in the early period was reverence for the imperial house. It was fully developed by the time the continental influences had done their work and remains as one of the leading characteristics of the Japanese to this day. As Dr. G. W. Knox happily phrased it, everything in the ancient religion might be summed up in the injunction, "Fear the gods and obey the emperor." It was "essentially nature worship married to the worship of the imperial house."¹

A closer glance is necessary at this point. In 712 A. D. a book was written called the *Kojiki*, the "Record of Ancient Matters," which has been called the Bible of the Japanese. This was followed in 720 by another work, the *Nihongi*, or "Chronicles of Japan," which covered much the same ground, but which showed more of the Chinese influence than the earlier volume. The object of the writers seemed to be to trace the history of Japan and the imperial line back to the very beginnings. We read there of the divine beings Izanagi and his wife Izanami, who produced many of the Japanese islands as well as the Japanese race; also various tales of gods and goddesses, among whom was the great sun-goddess, Amaterasu-o-mi-Kami. She ruled in the heavens in brilliant light, the highest divinity of the Shinto pantheon. Not only so, it was her "grandson," Jimmu Tenno, who assumed the rule in Japan, so it is said, in 660 B. C., and inaugurated the line of emperors. Remarkable to say, the present sovereign, Hirohito (1926—), is the one hundred and twenty-fourth in direct descent from Jimmu Tenno, the grandson of the sun-goddess. We may be quite sure the line has not been broken since records began to be kept in the fifth century, and how long before that we cannot know. Suffice it to say that the Japanese are taught in school as the first fact of history that their reigning emperor is directly descended from Amaterasu, the sun-goddess. Little wonder that patriotism is for them a part of their religion and

¹ *Development of Religion in Japan*, p. 66.

allegiance to the imperial house the highest obligation they know.

Then came Buddhism and all but swallowed Shinto. It would probably have done so had it not been for the reverential attachment to the ruling dynasty. This was their most tangible connection with the gods and the world of divine power, and held them fast during all the centuries. Even though through most of their history the emperor has been little more than a figurehead so far as the actual rule is concerned, the Japanese have always looked on him as the representative of the gods, as the final source of all authority. This has been consistently recognized in theory even though the treatment meted out to the ruler on many occasions would seem to belie the fact. A succession of powerful families has been at the helm and managed the affairs of state. Japanese history from at least the eighth century (when the Fujiwara family began its long period of control) until the revolution of 1868 (when the Tokugawa family was swept from the seat of authority) has been largely the story, frequently bloody and tragic, of the conflicts and the rule of these powerful clans. It was a feudal system, strict and stern, the elimination of which was necessary before Japan could make any real advance among the nations of the world. Whenever an important act had been decided upon by the power in actual control of the country the "constitutional" thing to do was to proceed to the imperial palace, lay the matter before his august throne, and receive the approbation of the emperor. This continued to be done until, in the year 1868, a revolution occurred and the emperor was restored, for the first time in many centuries, to his rightful place as actual ruler as well as theoretical sovereign of his people. The loyalty which had centered in devotion to feudal princes was at once, almost as if by magic, transferred to the emperor himself. Undoubtedly, this could not have been accomplished had it not been that in the background of all their thinking there lay implicit the thought that the divine representative of the power of heaven was in the final analysis the foundation of their lesser loyalties and might claim the right to their complete allegiance.

It is difficult to untangle the different strands; what we know is that in the eighteenth century there occurred what has been called "The Revival of Pure Shinto." Motoori and other scholars began to study anew the ancient literature, notably the *Kojiki*, and came to the realization that things were not as they should be. Why should the emperor be kept in seclusion in the old capital of Kyoto while Japan was being ruled by the family of the Tokugawas in Tokyo? It was not so in the early day; that the literature made very clear. Other powerful forces were at work and may have had more to do with the actual course of events than this literary movement, but it at least shows that men were thinking and that it was along this line. As it was, the emperor was restored and the Japanese have rallied around him with a passionate devotion which evokes our admiration and surprise. No theory of the "divine right of kings" is more far-reaching and complete than the Japanese. But it goes a step further and asserts divinity of the very person of the emperor. He is their divine ruler, and commands their loyalty and obedience by a right seldom claimed in all history and never in modern times except in the Island Empire. The patriotism of the Japanese may readily be interpreted as religion, and in fact is about all the religion many Japanese have.

Shinto, then, was saved from almost complete extinction by the connection it had with the ruling house. What became of all the gods and goddesses of the early religion? In a comparatively short time after its arrival Buddhism became the dominant religion and overtopped the simple faith of the early days. Pure Shinto remained little more than the ritual and ceremonial of the court, in which the people were only slightly interested. But we must always remember that even a simple faith like Shinto has its roots deep down in the life of the people and cannot be torn up and thrown away at will. So it was in Japan. The people mixed their Shinto and their Buddhism together and the result was not altogether incongruous. It was known as Ryobu, or "Dual," Shinto. The *mixture* almost became a *compound* when by a happy thought or a

stroke of genius, not to make the charge of more sinister motives, a celebrated Buddhist priest named Kobo Daishi (774 A. D.) began to teach that the old Shinto deities were in reality to be thought of as Buddhas and Bodhisattvas! What they had been worshiping in ignorance of their true greatness he now made known to them, and from that day the two religions have lived side by side in peace, though it must be said that Buddhism got the lion's share and received all the glory. In Japan today Shinto and Buddhist gateways are frequently found at the entrance of the same temple, and inside a Shinto god and a Buddha may share the honor and worship of the people.

Because of its connection with the imperial cult Shinto was given a place of honor at the restoration in 1868, but declined rapidly, until in 1899 the priests of the sacred shrine at Ise, the shrine dedicated to Amaterasu, the divine "god-mother" of the emperors, took steps to make Shinto a purely secular organization. Now Shinto is the embodiment of the spirit of patriotism. It expresses their confidence "that there is a something more than their present strength and wisdom which directs and aids and on which they may rely."²

THE COMING OF BUDDHISM

The conquest of Japan by Buddhism was not without opposition. After the embassy from the Korean king in 552 A. D. the new faith had its ups and downs before it was able to prove that it possessed larger power and could give greater material assistance to the Japanese than their indigenous Shinto. When the cause of the new teaching had been embraced by the prominent minister Shotoku Taishi (died 621) the opposition ceased and Buddhism was accepted as belonging to the country. And when, beginning with Kobo Daishi in the eighth century, the two religions were virtually amalgamated, the Shinto divinities were incorporated into the Buddhist system. From those early days to this Buddhism has remained the religion

² Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

of the masses of the people. For about three hundred years other influences have taken possession of the minds of the cultured and Buddhism has been more or less neglected in these circles. Still it is the great religious power in the land, thoroughly acclimated and with a development which is peculiarly Japanese.

The contrast between Shinto and Buddhism is sharp and complete. Shinto is simplicity itself, in the lack of all outward adornment as well as of inner content. There was almost nothing to believe and very little to do in the old faith. Buddhism is the exact opposite of all this. It is elaborate and complex in every feature. It has temples ornate and profusely decorated without and full of images and the paraphernalia of worship within. It has its books and its ceremonial, its priests with their vestments—everything we associate with color and form in religion came into Japan with Buddhism and made the country over again. Art was stimulated and the beauties we associate with Japan began to appear. But more than these outward manifestations, it was rich in inner content. It opened up a spiritual world to the wondering gaze of the simple Japanese. They had never dreamed such a world existed, peopled with beings so magnificent and resplendent that they could not but win the awesome reverence of a backward people. The hope of immortality became a reality for the first time, and contact with merciful gods who were all-powerful yet interested in the salvation of men. The imagination was stimulated and the glories of a paradise presided over by the gracious Amida became real. In short, the hitherto undeveloped capacity of the Japanese for all that a spiritual religion could supply found its satisfaction in Buddhism. It could not be otherwise when the Japanese mind was beginning to expand under the influence of the culture from the continent. A more satisfying religion was necessary to parallel the enlarging outlook of a new civilization. It was fortunate that Buddhism was on hand to fill the need.

As in China so in Japan, the rise and growth of schools or sects became a marked characteristic of the development. Some

of the sects were introduced directly from China, but those which have put a distinctive mark on Japanese Buddhism were born and grew up in Japan itself. This does not mean that they are not related to the Buddhism across the sea. Japanese Buddhism has preserved the historical continuity of the faith, and even in the sects most distinctive of the country the connection with older teachings is close and vital. In a number of cases Japanese monks went to China and brought back the nucleus of what they embodied in their own systems. But it may truly be said that in the Japanese sects Buddhism has reached its farthest bound in doctrine and practice. Here Mahayana has developed to the point of greatest departure from the teaching of Gautama the Buddha. The logic of the newer ideas has been carried out more consistently than in any other country. The sects number about a dozen, but if all the subsects are counted, the whole list comes to about thirty. The most important for our purpose are six in number: Tendai, Shingon, Zen, Jodo, Shin, and Nichiren.

Tendai arose early in the ninth century. It sought to be comprehensive, in its attempt to gather in teachings of all sorts, but later in its career it changed and chose to be eclectic. Its chief claim to distinction is that of being parent of several other important sects. Out of its great establishment on Hieizan, a mountain near Kyoto, overlooking the beautiful expanse of Lake Biwa, have come a number of the great historic leaders of Japanese Buddhism. Not satisfied with the doctrinal stand taken by its leaders, they withdrew and founded schools of their own, which have become more famous than the mother of them all. It has had a stormy history. In the days when feudalism was in power and monks could be soldiers Hieizan became a veritable fortress, sending out its armed men to help this side and then that in the interminable strife of the feudal lords. Finally in the sixteenth century Nobunaga, the dictator, suspecting that the monks of Hieizan were against him, made an attack, and after bloody fighting cleared the mountain and burned every building on it. The sect has never recovered from this blow, and now peaceful Hieizan is the summer home

of beauty-loving Japanese and foreigners who are glad to escape from the heat of the city.

Shingon arose in the same period, being founded in 806 by Kobo Daishi, whom we have already met. The core of his teaching, according to Professor A. K. Reischauer, is "that man can even in this present life attain Buddhahood since he is essentially one with the eternal Buddha."⁸ This essential Buddha is Dainichi, in India Vairochana, one of the Dhyani-Buddhas, early developed in Mahayana. He is the all, inclusive of everything. The system then is clearly pantheistic. Man came from out this all, is essentially one with it now, and will be reabsorbed; this is what it means to attain Buddhahood. There are two methods of attainment, one by meditation and knowledge and the other by a righteous life. So there are two worlds, one of ideas, "unchangeable and everlasting, having existence only in universal thought," the other a world of phenomena, the world we see and touch. Vairochana is the center of both, but, of course, the one is only a seeming world, destined to pass away. The real world, everlasting and eternal, is the ideal world to which all must attain for final salvation. Belief in the efficacy of the magic word, the spell, the posture, has worked evil in the sect, partially saved by the idealistic philosophy on which it is based.

The Zen, founded in 1191, is by no means the most numerous of the sects, but it has the largest number of temples. It lays great stress on contemplation and meditation, thus being somewhat in harmony with the Buddha's way of virtue. Like the Shingon, the Zen aims at a divine emptiness. There are in reality two selves, one which has the world around us as its object and the other which looks away into the real world of ideas. Only when one rises to the experiences of the higher, true self is he on the road to emancipation. The training of the will is of prime importance, for no advance can be made without the control of the passions, and the conquest of the physical desires. It trains and hardens the resolution of its dis-

⁸ *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, p. 94.

principles and makes for stoical endurance of the experiences of life. For this reason it made a strong appeal to the Samurai of old Japan, the soldier-scholars, the retainers of the old feudal lords, who better than any others represented the ancient spirit. They were taught to laugh at hardship and even welcome death without fear or the slightest evidence of emotion. The practical philosophy of the Zen fitted in splendidly with their ideal and gave a religious tone to a spirit which otherwise was likely not to rise to a very high level.

With the advent of the Jodo we find ourselves in another atmosphere. Founded by Honen Shonin in 1175, it promulgated the doctrine of the Western paradise, or Pure Land, which is presided over by the great Amida. The way of salvation is by faith in him, who promises to deliver all those who trust in him. But paradise cannot be assured without the repetition, times without number, of the Nembutsu, or prayer formula, "Namu-Amida-Butsu." The rosary thus becomes an important article, as the prayers are told off one by one. Of course it becomes a meaningless and lifeless form, even though merit and a nearer approach to the heaven of Amida is the reward of faithfulness in its performance. Another step must be taken for the "faith doctrine" to come to its own, and that was accomplished by Shinran Shonin, the founder of the Shin sect, who saw the line which must be taken.

This remarkable man had his introduction to Buddhist doctrine in the Tendai monastery on Hieizan. Dissatisfied with the teaching, he left, determined to seek a more satisfying way of salvation. He went to China and traveled from center to center, and doubtless while there made his discovery and formulated his distinctive doctrine. Coming back to Japan, he founded a new sect in 1224. He gave it the name of Shin or Shin-shu. It is also known as Jodo-Shin, or True Pure Land, also the Monto, and the Hongwanji Sect. He built directly on the teaching of the Jodo, with its emphasis on the Western paradise of Amida. He made much of Amida's vow. It is said that this spiritual being, going on to the perfection of Buddhahood, solemnly vowed that he would never allow him-

self the last and crowning experience so long as men were left below in the world of suffering whom he might help. He was still keeping the vow and holding out his hands in love to all who would come and throw themselves on his mercy. He would give them an immediate salvation, the earnest of what was in store for them in the great beyond. Shinran was very emphatic that there was no other salvation, and that it could be attained by faith and faith alone. Here is where he parted company with the Jodo. There was no possibility of accumulating merit by anything a man might do, not even by repetition of the Nembutsu. Only by putting faith in Amida and believing that he would receive any who came might a man hope for salvation.

It will repay us to pause a minute to look a little more carefully into this way of salvation. In one of the sermons of Tada Kanai this passage occurs: "This one name stands revealed in the midst of a world of Shadow and Vision, and it alone is neither Shadow nor Vision. It is revealed in the world, but it belongs not to this world. It is Light. It is the Way. It is Life. It is Power. This name alone has come down from Heaven, the Absolute and Invisible, to Earth, the Finite and the Visible. It alone is the rope which can draw us out from the burning fire of pain, and land us safely in a place of pure and eternal bliss."⁴ Even the faith which we exercise is not in our own power, but is graciously bestowed by Amida. Not even prayer avails; there is no merit in any form or "works"; it is solely by the mercy of the Saviour who looks with compassion on the heart of anyone who is willing to trust him. There is no difference between the priesthood and the laity. To enter a monastery or to practice meditation is as useless to secure salvation as it would be to storm the battlements of heaven.

Where did Shinran get this doctrine? Professor Arthur Lloyd⁵ spent many years of serious study on the question and

⁴ *The Praises of Amida*, trans. by Arthur Lloyd, Sermon I.

⁵ See especially *The Creed of Half Japan*.

became convinced that Shinran, either directly or indirectly, came into contact with Christian teaching in China and adopted it as his own. It is clear that we have here a doctrine of salvation by faith much like that taught by Paul and Luther. And it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Professor Lloyd's conclusion has some grains of truth in it. Nestorian Christian missionaries had been in China for several hundreds of years, and it would be strange if some fragments at least of their teaching should not have penetrated very much farther than the direct influence of the missionaries themselves. But Nestorian Christianity did not emphasize the doctrine of justification by faith, which makes it quite unlikely that it had much responsibility for what Amidaism taught. The theory which is now being increasingly accepted by the most careful students is that this doctrine arose in north India, where the bhakti doctrine was being preached, and that Shinran found it already an accepted teaching in certain monasteries which he visited. He took it, however, and filled it with a new vitality when he came back to Japan.

But who is this wonderful being Amida in whom men are asked so implicitly to place their confidence? Trace him back through China to India and there as Amitabha he appears as one of the Dhyani Buddhas, or Buddhas of Contemplation. In the triple scheme worked out in the early Mahayana days we have Amitabha, and under him Avalokita, the Bodhisattva of Contemplation, and lastly Gautama, the earthly manifestation. It is all an imaginary scheme whose only sure historic foothold is Gautama, here a very inferior being. So men are asked to pin their faith on Amida, a figment of the imagination, placed in the heavens as a Saviour because man felt the need for what such a being could offer, but with no assured existence as a reality in the true world of spiritual beings. There are stories told of Amida as a human being living here among men, but they cannot be taken seriously. Speaking of the difference between Amida and Jesus Christ, Professor Lloyd says, "But, the one is an Idea, the other a Person—the one a creature of

theological Fancy, the other a Being whose history is well defined."⁶ There is no place in the history of religion where the difference between a genuine historical revelation, which Christianity proclaims in the fact of Jesus Christ, and a conception with no basis in history can be seen more clearly than just here.

The Shin sect is by far the largest and most influential in Japan. Shinran was an innovator. Monasticism meant nothing to him, so, like Luther, he broke through the bondage and married a wife. Celibacy could bring a man no nearer the goal, so he would have none of it, and to this day the priests of the Shin sect marry like their parishioners and live among men like their fellows. They dress like the laity except when attending to their priestly duties. They are in close touch with men and are seeking to accommodate their practice to the demands of modern life. They are opposed to Christianity, but pay it the high compliment of copying its methods. Preaching halls have been provided and sermons are delivered. Sunday schools are conducted, provided with the helps and apparatus of the Christian schools, sometimes with a pathetic inability to put in the original touch which would make them soundly Buddhistic. Young Men's Buddhist Associations have been organized in various cities, and a periodical literature attempts to meet the intellectual needs of the alert young students and the cultured men and women. They are careful students of all that is being developed in Christian countries in modern methods of religious education. They are a force to be reckoned on, with an enormous following, and a readiness to make almost any move to meet the new situations as they arise.

We have one more sect to mention, the Nichiren. It was founded by a remarkable man of that name in 1253. He was scandalized by the neglect which was being shown the person of the historical Gautama, and wished to reinstate him in his rightful position. The Jodo and the Shin, recently formed,

⁶ *Praises of Amida*, p. 150.

had almost entirely neglected the great founder and had placed other deities in his place. But with all his enthusiasm for the person of Gautama this heroic being was to be conceived of mystically and not as a living, concrete personality. "The true Buddha is a greatness permeating all being, the great illumination we must find in ourselves."⁷ What is to be gained by a return to the historical Buddha when he is not to be taken historically is a question. The system of Nichiren is pantheistic. The sect has been noted in Japan for its vigorous opposition to all rival sects and other religions. It condemns Buddhist sects which preach a different doctrine almost as violently as it does Christianity. It will not appear on the same platform with any other sect, but prefers to go its own noisy way, fighting here and resisting there wherever an enemy appears. But with all its misdirected zeal the movement seeks to follow the example of Nichiren, who was one of the most picturesque personages and noblest patriots Japan has ever known. Living in a time when the country was in danger of an invasion by the hordes of Kublai Khan, the Mongol emperor of China, this Buddhist monk was the prophet of preparedness and had much to do with the vigorous and successful defense which kept the invader from landing on the sacred shores. Several times he was exiled for patriotically resisting the evil counsels of men in power. His life was in danger, but with singleness of purpose he went his way, seeking to lead men aright both politically and spiritually. Latterly he lived in the mountains of central Japan, in a little shelter he had built for himself away from the confusion of a troubled time. The inspiration of his name is still powerful as the story of his unselfish devotion to native land is recounted in story and song.

So much for the sects, to one or another of which the people belong. They are not concerned about the philosophy of the sects; they call the priests in to officiate in times of need, and give themselves to such performances as are prescribed. When

⁷ H. Hackmann, *Buddhism as a Religion*, p. 292.

it is remembered that Buddhism is the religion of the village people, who comprise eighty per cent of the entire population, it is easy to see that it is the religion par excellence of the Japanese. One of the most unfortunate facts about Buddhism is suggested by the different attitudes of the intelligent and the ignorant masses toward its doctrines. The inner teaching cannot be understood by ninety per cent of the people. To them the higher, the essential teaching, is not offered. An accommodated doctrine, suited to their understanding, where symbol is used instead of idea, is about all they can take. "The esoteric teaching may have to do with self-identification with the absolute, while the popular preacher talks of a materialistic Hell and Heaven."⁸ Is one consistent with the other? If it is, no one could object to the attempt to reach the heart of the people by language and figures they can understand, but, when the Japanese themselves feel, as many of them do, that there is a real discrepancy, the palpable insincerity of the method is a serious bar to its acceptance by those who are looking for both light and reality.

Buddhism has continued to pay a price for its militant interference in affairs of State during the Middle Ages. The Tokugawa rulers, who assumed control late in the sixteenth century and retained it until the restoration in 1868, curtailed the aggressiveness of the sects and reduced them to comparative impotence. The religion lost the hold it had on the gentry and became more exclusively what it had always been and is today, the religion of the common people of the country. It is dependent for support entirely on free-will offerings. A new earnestness is apparent, particularly in Shin-shu, which has become interested in the condition of Buddhism in Korea and China and is stimulating by visitations and gifts the reclamation of decaying institutions and the inauguration of new enterprises to make the faith again the fresh and vital force it was in the old days of its missionary zeal. It is too early as yet to estimate the real power lying back of the movement.

⁸ G. W. Knox, *Development of Religion in Japan*, p. 120.

THE ADOPTION OF CONFUCIANISM

Buddhism provided a moral code with rules and regulations for the monks, and also to a certain extent for the masses of the people. But at the same time Buddhism came into Japan the teachings of Confucius also made their way from the mainland. With what has already been said concerning Confucius and his system we are prepared to learn of its reception in Japan and of the development which it underwent. For when the Japanese mind had finished its work on the Confucianism which came from China it was considerably altered. It was compelled to fit into the Japanese mold, and in doing so received an impress which would have caused the sage to recoil strongly against it. The conditions in Japan were entirely different from those in China. Confucius based all his practical injunctions on the family. The first relation was that of father and son. But in Japan it was somewhat different. The first relation was, rather, that of ruler and subject. The State is first; loyalty, and not filial piety, is the first virtue, though filial piety is of supreme importance.

In China, again, peace is the great desideratum and the scholar the first man in the social scale. The men who produce are put first, and the scholar is a producer of the highest and finest sort. The soldier, on the other hand, is looked on as a destroyer, and as such is put down to the lowest plane, beneath the farmer, the artisan, and the merchant. In China the emperor ruled as the Son of Heaven so long as he ruled in accordance with the principles of virtue and benevolence. He might forfeit his right to the throne and cease to be considered the Son of Heaven by unseemly conduct, provided, of course, the aggrieved people could find a leader to organize them for victory, sweep the old tyrant from the throne, and take the place himself as the accredited ruler of the people. The voice of the people was in a real sense the voice of God. Dynasty after dynasty in China has been hurled from the throne by just this process. The Chinese theory has been given in order to make clear the situation in Japan, which is quite different.

The emperor is the Son of Heaven by right of descent from Amaterasu—such was the theory. But, more practically, he ruled by right of conquest and the power of the sword. He or his ancestors had won the first place in the land and intended to maintain the position against all comers. When the tradition had been established and the descent of the ruler from the gods could be assumed, the day was won. But it can readily be seen that the whole theory was different from that in China. The imperial family must be secured on the throne at any price; peace, then, was of secondary importance, and has never been looked upon as a particularly desirable thing in Japanese history. As a consequence the soldier became the first man in Japan, and underneath were ranged the farmer, the artisan, and the merchant, in that order. By an interesting turn the soldier was also the scholar. The uniting of these two characters, which are separated by the whole width of the social scale in China, in one individual is one of the unique features in Japanese life in the old regime.

Now, what happened when the Confucian ideal was brought into contact with a condition as strange to its essential genius as this? The resulting Confucianism had a changed face. Confucius was honored by an acceptance of his system, but so altered that he would hardly have recognized it as his own. Several of the essential notes had been obliterated and his ideals had been bowed out of court. There gradually developed out of the transformation which took place a new code which was admirably fitted to the feudalism which prevailed in Japan until 1871. In China, as we remember, feudalism had been abolished in the year 221 B. C., but even then it was not a feudalism like that of Japan. The code in Japan was called *Bushido*, *Bushi* meaning "warrior" and *do* being another form of the *to* or *tao*, with which we have become familiar. Here it might again be translated the "way," making the whole word mean "The way of the warrior." Much has been written about this old code—"Code of Honor" we might call it—in praise and admiration. It deserves about as much praise and condemnation as the old code of the gentleman in the West, with its

dueling and its oversensitiveness on questions of honor, which lasted so long in this country, particularly in the South. Its great virtue was loyalty—every thing turned on that. A man must sacrifice everything to loyalty, usually to his feudal lord. Life itself was of little value compared with firmness and steadfastness in this allegiance. It applied equally to the gentlewomen in Japan, who were taught to sacrifice everything, even their honor, if by so doing they might exhibit necessary loyalty in a time of danger or crisis. Japanese literature is full of examples of men and women who forfeited their all for the cause of their liege-lord. Loyalty to parents was also included; in fact, loyalty in every relationship where it might be called into play. There was little chance for the development of individuality and a well-rounded personality; the individual counted for almost nothing.

Other sides of Bushido will throw it into bolder relief. Coupled with loyalty were hardness and stoic indifference to suffering and loss and death. Simplicity was admired in adornment and taste. Frugality in food and clothing became a rule; the Samurai came to loathe money; to him it was literally "filthy lucre." Laconic in speech, courtly in manner, reserved among friends and dignified at all times, he led a life which had been forced into a rigid mold with little opportunity to relax and be his natural self. Never appearing in public without his two swords, he was inured to the thought that at any time he might be called on to use either or both, the keen long blade on an enemy and the short dirk on himself. For in Japan suicide was raised to a virtue, if performed to escape an ignominious death at the hands of an enemy or if no other way remained to vindicate one's honor. Is there any wonder the sword was called "The Soul of the Samurai"? Is there any wonder that Japanese are fierce fighters and that martial virtues are still held in such high esteem among them?

Such was one side of Confucianism when it had become domesticated in Japan—but there was another. The Chinese classics and the ethical system contained in them were being studied with deep insight. Confucian ethics is not utilitarian.

It is based on the profound conception that behind our workaday world there is another in which what we strive to attain in moral conduct is an immanent principle. The ethical system we seek to follow is an essential part of the eternal nature of things and as such there is a binding quality to its obligations which no merely utilitarian system could command. This thought stirred the soul of men here and there and a literature grew up which rooted ethics in the very heart of a universe whose inner essence is righteousness. To be righteous ourselves is to express in time and under mundane conditions what the universe was expressing in the solemn majesty of its mighty processes. This sobered many a man and led him to reverence the universe of which he was a part. It became a religion for many who were not to be satisfied with the philosophy and practice of Buddhism. As might be expected, there could be no propaganda, no enthusiasm to establish a kingdom, but the calm dignity of quietism. Men lived carefully, but, more than that, they felt hushed in the presence of a world-order which was the embodiment of all they admired and could respect. This high type of Confucianist theory could only be the cherished possession of a few. Yet it was and still is the inner groundwork of belief of conservative men who have not been able to ally themselves with any of the aggressive religious organizations which are seeking to win the allegiance of Japan.

And now again in Japan the question arises, What of the future? For the second time in her long history Japan has reached out her arms to take all she needs and can assimilate of a civilization and culture to which she has until recent years been a complete stranger. We have no way of determining what course the old religions would have taken had Japan been left to herself any more than a would-be prophet could have predicted what would have become of Shinto just before the influences from the continent began to flow in during the fourth or fifth century. Japan is to be a new Japan, but of one thing we may be sure: no flooding of the country by influences from without can obliterate the tendencies that are distinctively

Japanese nor prevent the modification of the new material in accordance with the essential genius of the people.

Western science is doing its deadly work with the ancient superstitions. The old myths, legends, cosmologies, and traditions, both Shinto and Buddhist, are doomed, the only immediate hindrance at one point being the pressure of an almost rampant patriotism which as yet is winning the victory over historical truth in not permitting any statement to be made which might discount the initial claim of the royal house to be descended from the gods. This cannot last forever with education spreading as it has in Japan, but when can we look for a change with the nationalistic wave submerging everything in Japanese life?

Can the old faiths be reinterpreted in the light of modern thought so as to hold the intellect of young Japan? If not, they must gradually lose their hold on the masses. The modern world is a single community in which every class must take its part and share the burden. What we do actually see on every hand is great uncertainty and confusion. Even the common people feel it and can be attracted by such emotional off-shoots of Shinto as Tenrikyo and Remmonkyo, both led by uneducated enthusiasts, peasant women professing to heal the body as well as minister comfort to the soul. There are many others which rise into influence and then fall back again like the waves of the sea. Buddhism is trying almost with desperation to hold the mind of young Japan. This is meeting with some success, but even an optimist cannot feel that the hold of Buddhism is secure. About all the religion many Japanese have is patriotism, an intense devotion to the Imperial House and to Japan, the soil and the people.

The coming of the totalitarian State which would control the entire life of the people, their ideas as well as their practice, is causing grave questioning, especially in the Christian community. The "Shrine Question" is a very real one. All Japanese are obliged to take part in certain rites at Shinto shrines. What is the significance of this; is it worship or is it only respect or reverence, the kind we in our country show in the presence

of the flag or when the President of the United States passes by? It is a question still awaiting final answer. While it is a difficulty chiefly felt at the present by Christians, in the long run it must be felt by Buddhists as well. Is our first and final allegiance to the State or is it to God? If it is to the State, then religion cannot be universal. This is the issue, and it is being confronted in Japan in a very real form. It is one of the most difficult in the world today.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

D. C. Holtom, *The National Faith of Japan* (London, 1938). The most recent authoritative study of Shinto.

George Foot Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. I, Chaps. VI, VII.

Masaharu Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion* (London, 1930).

The best survey we now have.

Masaharu Anesaki, *Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet* (Cambridge, Mass., 1916).

Charles Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism* (London, 1935). The most complete discussion in English, large and expensive, to be sought in libraries.

Charles S. Braden, *Modern Tendencies in World Religions* (New York, 1933). Chap. IV. Modern Tendencies in Japanese Religions.

Inazo Nitobe, *Bushido the Soul of Japan* (Tokyo, 1935). A noble presentation of the code of Feudal Japan, almost too idealistic.

Lord Redesdale, *Tales of Old Japan* (London, 1906). One of the indispensable books on the spirit and lore of Japan.

CHAPTER XI

JUDAISM

THE SEMITIC BACKGROUND

THE Semites received their name from Shem, the son of Noah. There were two other sons, Ham and Japheth. From these three were supposed to have descended the entire population of the world after the Deluge, which left alive only Noah and his family. The "sons" of Shem are said to be the Elamites, the Assyrians, the Lydians of Asia Minor, the widely scattered Aramaeans, and Arpachshad, which Canon Driver takes to mean "the supposed ancestor of the *Kasdim*," or Chaldaeans, who became "the ruling caste in Babylonia."¹ Shem is also called "the father of all the children of Eber,"² the tribes of Arabia,³ and the children of Abraham (Israelites, Ishmaelites, Midianites, and Edomites). This enumeration roughly corresponds to the modern classification of the Semitic peoples, but at the same time differs in several important particulars. The Lydians are not now listed as Semites, while the "sons" of Canaan, who are called the sons of Ham in Genesis, are now universally recognized as of the same racial stock with the Hebrews and Arabs and their Semitic brethren in the Mesopotamian Valley. We know them as the Canaanites, the Phoenicians, and the Amorites in historic times. In general these people fall into two great divisions, the Northern and the Southern Semites. The home of the Southern branch is Arabia and that of the Northern the great expanse of desert and fertile land lying to the north of Arabia between the mountains of Persia on one side and the Mediterranean on the other. But it is to be remembered that the original home of all these peoples was Arabia, the cradle of the Semitic race, which from time to time has poured out into the adjacent lands groups of

¹ *Commentary on Genesis*, pp. 128f.

² Genesis 10. 21.

³ Genesis 10. 25-30.

its people too hard pressed by the rigors of a barren land, which is barely able to support a limited number of nomads and a still smaller number of dwellers in towns and cities.

Semitic civilization was essentially nomadic, and in Arabia retains this trait to the present time. The people were divided into many small tribes and lived an exceedingly simple life. When they gave up the nomadic life, as they did when they emigrated from their age-long home, the same exclusiveness expressed itself in the founding of small city states. In his characterization of the Semitic type Professor J. F. McCurdy makes these statements: "Long-continued, intense activity, within a wide yet monotonous and secluded territory, was the habit of this unique people. Such a habit of necessity produces men eager, impulsive, and intense, but narrow and unimaginative. Such were the prehistoric Semites, and such the Semites of history. Religious, for the most part, rather than moral; patient, resolute, enduring, brave, serious; faithful to friends, implacable toward foes—they have borne the stamp of tribalism all through their history. . . . Not looking far around them, they have at times seen all the farther beyond and above them. And when it has been given them to see straight and clear, they have beheld 'unspeakable things, which it is not possible for a man to utter.' But they are apt to see only one thing at a time, and so in their judgments of men and things they were exclusive, partial, and extreme."⁴ To these intense Semites men are either good or bad, and they themselves in their contact with other peoples seem to have exemplified, as Professor McCurdy suggests, one or the other of these two extremes, being either a blessing or a bane wherever they have gone.

Among the Semites the clan was the social unit. This helps us to understand the exclusiveness of Semitic religion. Each clan had its own god who was always considered the father or ancestor of the clan and its peculiar possession. A man was born into the religion of his clan and would as little think of changing his allegiance to another god as he would think of

⁴ *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Volume, "Semites."

changing his name or his family. The god was with his people in all their enterprises; his interests were bound up with theirs. Then, too, the gods had jurisdiction over particular territories, those in which their people lived, and it was very difficult, if not impossible, for a god to exert his influence away from his own country. In the Biblical narrative we find Naaman carrying away a little of the soil of Palestine in order to be able to worship the God of Palestine far away in Syria.⁵ There were as many gods as there were clans, and when one clan conquered another, the victorious god became the lord over the vanquished people. In this case, however, the worship of their old god did not cease, even though he had not been able to deliver them out of the hands of their enemy. Thus there came to be more than one god in a given territory until in the end, as in Babylonia, there was a pantheon but with one great god supreme over the others.

All religious acts were clan acts, the god being worshiped at the particular place where he had manifested his power. Here was placed his symbol, frequently a stone, to which was applied the blood of the sacrifice. In this way the blood was brought near the god, and the god and his people symbolized their blood-relationship. Worship, then, was the renewal of the blood-bond. This was succeeded by a common meal, the god participating with his worshipers in the festivities. Religion was very simple and happy. The thought of sin had not arisen to clear consciousness to stand between the deity and his people. The identity of interests between them was not questioned. The individual as an individual could not be said to have come into being; every act was that of the community, and the interest of each individual was swallowed in the larger interest of the whole group. Much of this is common to other forms of early religion; what is distinctively Semitic is its exclusiveness and humanness. The god takes his name from a human relationship. He is "master" or "lord" or "king," and he holds this relation to no people other than his own.

⁵ 2 Kings 5. 17.

The after-life meant little to the Semites. The perpetuity of the clan was looked for and enjoyed in prospect. Individual men continued to exist, but it was a shadowy existence in a somber underworld with nothing bright or attractive to hold out hope of anything to be compared with the joy of the present life. Every delineation was repelling, enough to make a man shudder at the very thought of such a future. Religion had to do with this life, and when men passed into the great beyond they left the world of gods as well as men behind them. Rather than think of themselves as being alive in the dreary world of shades their minds were filled with the prosperity of the clan as it continued to exist down through the years. A man was happy if he had many children in whom he might feel that he too was to have part in the deeds of the clan and share its joy and well-being.

THE HERITAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

The people whom we know as the Hebrews, or Israelites, became a separate people during the period following the exodus from Egypt, which probably occurred somewhere between 1250 and 1200 B. C.* On this "birthday of the nation" a number of Semitic tribes who had been in Egypt for many years and had there suffered severe hardships escaped and began to make their way toward their future home in Palestine. In all probability the tribes which had been in Egypt were joined from time to time by other tribes who coalesced with them. They were under the guidance of a leader named Moses, who proved to be one of the world's greatest heroes and nation-builders. He guided them to a mountain in the wilderness in or near the peninsula of Sinai where, not many months before, he had come to know the name of a wonderful God, who appeared to him "in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush,"⁶ and who called him to go back and lead out his people from Egypt. He had undoubtedly been known before, else the people would not have received him; but, however that may be,

* Exodus 3. 2.

the account in Exodus would indicate that he came as a new revelation to Moses and the Israelites when he led them into the region of Sinai. This God Yahweh, or Jehovah, as we have incorrectly transliterated it, seems to have been a God closely connected with the volcanic mountain near which Moses kept the sheep of his father-in-law Jethro. He manifested himself in thunder and lightning and storm, a "God of battles," who fought for his people and led them on to victory. True, this is not the conception we get of Jehovah in the prophets and the psalmists of a later age, but it is necessary to remember that it was by gradual stages and only after a long development that the idea of God became what we see it in Jeremiah and Isaiah. Yahweh was to these early tribesmen the Divine Being who had his residence in the sacred mountain and who was willing to become their special protector—they had not risen to the sublime heights of the monotheism of a later day.

[The relation between this God and his people was based on a covenant or agreement. This covenant was not founded on blood-relationship, as though Yahweh was bound to them by the indissoluble bonds of kinship; it was far freer and more voluntary than that. The covenant was a mutual agreement or contract in which each side assumed certain obligations which it was bound to carry out so long as the other party to the contract remained true and loyal. And when it is remembered that this agreement was morally conditioned, its uniqueness and greatness become evident. The conditions laid down, which the people of Israel were bound to recognize and obey, demanded of them rigid adherence to moral principle. Here lay the possibility of the moral and spiritual advance which marks Judaism as the religion of which more could be expected than of all the other religions of the ancient world. This covenant was interpreted in ethical terms more and more as the centuries passed until Jeremiah could affirm that the covenant was no longer to be considered as an outer law written on "tables of stone," but as an inner law, a spiritual principle, written in the hearts of men. But in the early day everything was crude and materialistic. The presence of Yahweh was

assured by the outward symbol of the Ark of the Covenant, which was taken from place to place, which went before them into battle, and which must be protected on pain of losing the divine help and presence.

When these people with their desert training came into the land of promise, they ran the danger of fusion with the peoples already in the country and of losing the distinctness of their covenant relation with Yahweh. The book of Judges shows how great this peril was. They had been nomads living a wandering life in the open and free desert; now they began to accustom themselves to the more settled life of agriculture, and this meant a change in all their habits and ways of looking at things. And since they were learning so much from the Canaanites among whom they settled and who were never driven out of their heritage, was it not to be expected that they might absorb much of their religion? It was a real danger, seen in its true light when we know the kind of religion it was, with licentiousness and cruelty practiced in the very temples of the gods. This danger remained a menace through hundreds of years, as is clearly seen in the writings of the prophets, who were called upon time and again to resist the encroachments of these morally enervating practices. During this long period Yahweh was looked upon as the "Lord" of their land, but the gods of other peoples and lands were recognized as having their territory and people too. An interesting incident is recorded of David,⁷ when he reasons with Saul, urging him not to drive him out of the land of Yahweh, on the ground that such an act on Saul's part would virtually mean that David must go out of the territory of Yahweh and "serve other gods."

The religion of Moses was saved from the threatened absorption by the judges and the guilds or "schools" of prophets, bands of patriotic men who kept alive in the people their loyalty to the God who had been with them and delivered them in times past. Wandering bands of men, working themselves on occasion into an ecstatic state, as the narrative in Samuel indicates,

⁷ 1 Samuel 26. 17-19.

they accomplished their purpose, and must be judged by this achievement rather than by our judgment as to what a prophet or spiritual leader ought to be. The founding of the monarchy under Saul and its extension under David and Solomon gave material assistance in the same direction. But even then the worship was crude and not without contaminating features, being conducted at many shrines, the old centers of Canaanitish worship, and containing elements which were only gradually set aside as the spiritual perceptions of the people became sharpened. This took place under the inspiration of prophetic leaders who began to appear even before the division of the kingdoms and who in the end ushered in a new era of religious history.

Elijah stands out as one of the great commanding figures in the history of religion. In his time in a marked degree the danger of serious contamination by contact with the Baal worship of the Phoenicians menaces the people and their religion, and Elijah suddenly appears as the heroic patriot who is not afraid to use the most drastic measures to prevent the threatened corruption. He is fearless in the presence of both Ahab and the Sidonian queen Jezebel. He is a man of action, adding little or nothing to the religious conceptions of his people, but there is no more stirring recital in the history of religion than when this heroic champion of Jehovah wins a complete victory over the howling, desperate priests of Baal. He performed a most necessary task, but there was much left to be done by other and very different men.⁸ The remarkable group who appeared first in the eighth century took the ideas of religion already in the possession of the Hebrew people and refashioned them into the sublime faith which was worthy to be the foundation of the teaching of our Lord and the writers of the New Testament. When Amos came into the city of Bethel and proclaimed the judgment of the God of Israel on all the nations round about, and on Israel and Judah as well, a new day had dawned. True monotheism, founded on God's right

⁸ 1 Kings 18.

to judge all peoples on the basis of a single moral standard, began to come to its own, and, in the hands of Jeremiah and Isaiah and the gifted though unknown "Evangelist of the Exile," received a statement so complete and so sublime that ever after and to this day men have been compelled to go back to these inspired utterances to drink in the full meaning of the unity of God and his ethical character. This is the great gift of the Jewish people to the religious life of the world, a permanent possession which can never be superseded. This is the priceless heritage of the Old Testament which has influenced the whole subsequent religious development of the human race, wherever it has been made known.

The Messianic hope, the universalism of the prophets, the development of the Law, the spiritual experience of the psalmists, the wisdom of the wise men, the apocalyptic vision—these and other features of the Old Testament revelation have not and cannot be mentioned. All that has been attempted has been to trace, and that with extreme brevity, the development of the central message, the supreme gift of the Old Testament to the progress of religion in the world. The belief in one God who hates sin and loves righteousness, a belief which the Jew has never been tempted to forget since the days of the Babylonian exile, is the indispensable foundation on which any faith which claims to be universal must be built.

JUDAISM SINCE THE TIME OF CHRIST

The Jews have no country they can call their own, yet they have made a home everywhere. This ubiquitous people has been dispersed over all the world and no civilized land is without its representatives. Despite the great longing which has possessed their souls to return and be a nation once more in Palestine there is little likelihood that the Zionist ideal will ever be realized. The capture of Jerusalem by General Allenby and the opening up of the country to settlement by Jews has attracted many of the race, particularly those who have undergone bloody repression in eastern Europe during recent years,

but there is little attraction in Palestine for Jews, like those in England and in America, who have found a real home in these lands and have prospered greatly. Since the days of the Babylonian captivity they have been a scattered people; the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem and the final loss of nationality drove them out into every corner of the world, and they are likely to continue with a widely divided citizenship among the nations.

Their history has been a sad one. Success has attended their commercial ventures, but unfortunately they have been the prey all too often of avaricious princes and kings. Disliked by almost all the peoples among whom they have settled, they have been driven off by themselves into ghettos, where for hundreds of years they lived a life apart. Not satisfied by such treatment, the populace and their leaders have frequently vented their rage in bloody persecution, and too often this has been done by those who profess the Christian name. The enmity between Jew and Christian dates back to the first century and has continued unabated through the Middle Ages and into modern times. In the days of their weakness the Christians were the ones to suffer at the hands of the Jews or at their instigation, but the tables were soon turned and the growth of Christianity and its assumption of power boded ill for the Jew. This unchristian enmity has continued to our own time. Until a few years ago it was thought that the persecution of the Jew had come to an end, except in Eastern Europe and particularly in Russia where the hatred seemed not to be relaxed and where at any time bloody pogroms might be expected. But alas, even in Central Europe the old antipathy has broken out afresh. Under the lead of Adolf Hitler, the dictator of Germany, anti-Semitism has become a settled policy and the future of the Jew is dark indeed. With the slogan of "Germany for the Aryan," the rules have become more and more stringent, and it is exceedingly doubtful if there is even a slight hope of honor and advancement possible now for those who remain and who are seeking some foothold economically for themselves and their families. Anti-Semitism has also showed its head in other

European countries within recent times and seems to be spreading.

It was exceedingly unfortunate that for so many centuries the Jew should have been compelled to live with little intercourse with the Gentile world. Not only was the European intolerant; the Jew was clannish and narrow; he preferred to live his life alone. But since the liberating days of the French Revolution they have broken through their isolation and begun to share the life of the people around them. Thanks to one of their greatest leaders, Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), the Jewish people were led gradually to see that their future must lie in sharing the common life of the people in the midst of whom they lived. During all the years of their isolation they had preserved a vigorous intellectual life, but unfortunately it was too closely concerned with their own circle of interests, their history, their Law, and their religion, but now a change takes place. Entering the universities and feeling the force of the intellectual currents of the time, the Jew became a citizen of the modern world. His brilliant gifts, which had been but slightly known and appreciated, began to be manifest and after no long period he appeared in positions of leadership in varied forms of activity. He has been, and in certain lands is still, an integral part of the life of his fellow countrymen. He takes his place by the side of his fellow citizens in every walk of life. He is distinct in race, but one with us in nationality. With unparalleled tenacity he has clung to his racial distinctiveness, and has done so because it is bound up so closely with his religion, which to him would be lost if he did not preserve his uniqueness as a people.

The loss of nationality and the destruction of the Temple and the sacrificial system by the Romans caused a profound change in the Jewish religion. Other means had to be found to maintain the unity of the people and preserve their religious life. Deep in their breasts was the belief in the one God of Israel—they could no longer be alienated from him. In their hands was the Old Testament, the Torah, or Law, which became more precious as they were scattered far and wide and needed

the support of a divine revelation. Common worship on the holy Sabbath day was possible through the institution of the synagogue, which had become a part of their life during the exile in Babylon while they were deprived of the ministries of the Temple and the recurring feasts which bound them to the soil of their native land. Not only so, but the people of Israel, wherever they found themselves, felt certain that their old covenant with Jehovah held good, and, while the Ark with the tables of stone might be destroyed, the new covenant was indelibly written in their hearts and must remain in force forever.

✓ Judaism has always been a religion of Law and remains such today. It is easy to misinterpret the term and accuse the Jew of being a narrow legalist. That this danger has not been averted is freely acknowledged by leading Jewish scholars, but to use it as a term of reproach and as the chief characteristic of the religion as such would be unjust. As in the Old Testament period and at the time of Christ Jewish men and women had penetrated behind the form to its inner spiritual principle, so down through the ages the spiritually-minded have found God and have been nourished, not on the dry husks of legal formalism, but on the living bread which has come down from heaven. But when we have said this, the fact remains that to be a Jew has always meant and means today the keeping of the Law. Obedience to a written code has been the mark of the religion. Everything in conduct, even down to the most insignificant details, was determined exactly, and to fail in the observance of the written word was unthinkable in a well-regulated Jewish household.

As might be expected, various codes have been constructed. Back of them all lie the Old Testament Scriptures. These are divided into three parts: (a) the Law or Torah, the first five books of the Bible; (b) the Prophets, which include the historical books as well as those we commonly think of as prophetic; (c) the Writings, comprising the remaining books of the Old Testament and including Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles. Of these three parts the most important is

the first, the Torah, or the Law, which becomes "the real foundation of the Jewish Religion." Here was God's voice speaking his message in a form never to be superseded. In New Testament times the common language of Palestine was not Hebrew but Aramaic. So we have the *Targums*, Aramaic translations of the Old Testament together with Biblical exegesis. They were used in the time of Christ in the public services of the synagogue.

But the Sacred Scriptures needed interpretation for practical and homiletic purposes, and this was done in a long series of expositions accumulating through many centuries. It finally assumed a written form in the *Mishnah*, which in turn was interpreted and commented on, and as a result we have the *Talmud*, which is the great codification of Jewish law, civil and canonical. The *Talmud* exists in two recensions, the Palestinian and the Babylonian, the latter being later in time and by far the longer of the two. It was completed about the year 500 A. D. This great body of Law is the mine from which Jewish scholars in all subsequent ages have produced the precious truths and traditions on which the people have been nourished. The Haggada, or nonlegal part, consisting of expositions of the Bible narratives, and the Halacha, or legal sections, dealing with all phases of conduct and ceremonial, together comprise the great mass of rabbinical lore to be found in the *Talmud*. Based on the accumulated stores to be found in these works other collections of laws have been formulated.⁹ Among them is that of the great Spanish rabbi, Maimonides (1135-1204), who in 1180 produced a code of law and custom called the "*Strong Hand*," which has been very influential among the Jews to the present time. Most Jews today, however, live under the "*Table Prepared*," which was compiled by Joseph Caro in the sixteenth century and is a résumé of the whole traditional Law. But with all that has been done to revivify the Law and make it appear as a living expression of the will of God, the great problem is to make it an abiding

⁹ For a discussion of this literature see Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, 2d edit., Chaps. III-V.

force in the advancing Jewish community today. There is revolt, especially in Western lands, against the binding character of the multitudinous rules and regulations, which touch not only the fundamental moral obligations, but cover an immense range of ceremonial observances and customs. These have become exceedingly irksome to the modern Jew in the Western world, who does not want to be marked off from his fellows by obsolete and meaningless practices.

Judaism may be said to have no definite articles of belief. A man's actions and conduct were most carefully regulated, but his beliefs were without any authoritative ecclesiastical sanction. This has led to laxity in belief along with great strictness in conduct. Dogmatic tests could not be applied, and few have been excommunicated for heresy. Notwithstanding this, attempts frequently have been made to formulate the beliefs of Judaism, but never have they been successful, and Mendelssohn used his influence to discourage anyone from any further ventures in this direction. To him religion was a life and not a creed, and could not be compressed within the bounds of a formula.

But Judaism has believed, and believed with great earnestness, in a few great doctrines. First and transcending all others is the unalterable belief in one God, high and lifted up, the Creator and sustainer of the universe, who at the same time is a Father brooding over his children with tender love. He is the God of justice and truth who will brook no lowering of the moral standard, and who will one day judge the world in righteousness. A list of thirteen articles of faith was constructed by Maimonides, "the one and only set of principles which have ever enjoyed wide authority in Judaism."¹⁰ "These are: (i) Belief in the existence of God, the Creator; (ii) belief in the unity of God; (iii) belief in the incorporeality of God; (iv) belief in the priority and eternity of God; (v) belief that to God, and God alone, worship must be offered; (vi) belief in prophecy; (vii) belief that Moses was the greatest of all

¹⁰ Israel Abrahams, *Judaism*, pp. 31f.

prophets; (viii) belief that the Law was revealed from heaven; (ix) belief that the Law will never be abrogated, and that no other Law will ever come from God; (x) belief that God knows the works of men; (xi) belief in reward and punishment; (xii) belief in the coming of the Messiah; (xiii) belief in the resurrection of the dead." Maimonides was deeply influenced, as were so many thinkers in the Middle Ages, by Aristotle. He believed in the revelation to be found in the Old Testament, but sought to show that the truths of revelation were in harmony with reason and could be thoroughly rationalized.

Down through Jewish history have come these two streams of law and creed, one stringent and the other lax, but there have been other tendencies. The Kabbala was a revolt against the intellectualism of the schools. It was a system of occult knowledge and mysticism, which exercised a strange fascination over many minds both in Judaism and Christianity. By uniting man and the divine Spirit through the practice of virtue and the overcoming of evil, preparation would be made for the coming of the Messiah who will restore all things. But here too there was excess in emotion and in mystical vagaries, and the inevitable reaction came. It was not really Judaism at all despite its influence on many Jews. A new intellectualism arose with vigorous advocates. The limit was reached by the famous philosopher Spinoza (b. 1632), who, depending on pure thought, reduced the whole system of the universe to a thoroughgoing pantheism. With all these currents streaming through her life Judaism emerged into the activities of the modern world something more than a hundred years ago. A new era opened out before the Jew which has profoundly affected the religious life and thought of the people.

ORTHODOXY AND REFORM

When Judaism came into intimate contact with modern thought and began to take a new part in the activities of the world a crisis could not but be precipitated. There were those who sought to keep their religion true to the traditions of

the past and were scandalized by the thought of change. They have continued down to our own time and form a very considerable part of the people. But even among these conservatives the modern world has had its effect and all degrees of modification of the old standards can be discovered. On the other hand, there is the Reform school composed of liberals who believe that the only hope of the race and the religion is to admit frankly that changes more or less drastic must be introduced and that Judaism must accept the obligation to reinterpret itself in the light of modern knowledge. It is admitted on both sides that the differences do not constitute a schism, but may best be denominated as "schools." In the words of the late lamented Dr. Solomon Schechter, a leader of the conservative wing, each party might look upon the other as "His Majesty's Opposition"¹¹ in one great Parliament of Judaism.

There is complete agreement in both parties on certain fundamental points. The primary and inalienable doctrine of the faith is the unity of God, and, of course, there is not the slightest hesitation here. Judaism stands or falls on the platform of monotheism. So sure is she of her ground that her leaders make bold to claim that the two "daughter" religions, Christianity and Islam, have each done despite to this central doctrine. Christianity, they declare, has ceased to believe in the essential unity of God by its doctrine of the Trinity, and Islam has lost the high ethical note of both Judaism and Christianity even though it has been an unswerving witness to the one God as an indivisible unity. Another point of agreement is with reference to the Jewish people as the Chosen Race. The ancient call of God to Abraham and his descendants in Biblical times holds good and is a cardinal point of emphasis today. The race must be preserved intact and all intermarriage with Gentiles severely condemned. And when it comes to the acceptance by any member of the race of the claims of Christianity, the anathemas which are heaped upon the heads of

¹¹ *Seminary Addresses and Other Papers*, p. 239.

these "perverts" are the bitterest of all the invectives of which the Jew is capable. But with all this the conservative is not quite convinced that the liberal has not let down the bars to such an extent that fusion with the surrounding community may ultimately result and the Jews as a distinct people cease to exist.

Since the days of the exile, when the unknown prophet gave expression to the splendid universalism in the latter part of the book of Isaiah, that note has not been lacking in Judaism. True, a narrow particularism has more often been victorious than the more liberal, wider view, but it has been there nevertheless. The book of Jonah voices the protest against the narrowness of the period following Ezra and Nehemiah, and is one of the most splendid testimonies to the ideal of universalism we have. The Maccabean revolt naturally resulted in an exclusive attitude toward other peoples, but soon after an active propaganda was instituted which resulted in the addition of thousands of converts to the synagogues scattered over the Roman empire. These proselytes were incorporated in the Jewish community by a threefold rite: (a) they were circumcised; (b) they were baptized; (c) they offered sacrifice. By this initiation they were completely identified with the Jewish community. At the time of Christ the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai were in conflict, the former standing for the broad and generous policy which furthered the winning of proselytes, the latter being narrow and exclusive and opposing all efforts to reach out after others. The school of Shammai was finally victorious and with the loss of nationality the Jew has not sought to win converts to his religion.

This condition has obtained down through the centuries, and even today, when a different outlook has become the ideal of the more liberal Jews, no missionary propaganda is contemplated. Still the universal note is being sounded and the mission of Israel to the nations is earnestly acclaimed. The form taken by this ideal differs among the orthodox and the Reform Jews. Holding fast the prophetic vision of a coming

Messiah who shall be born of their race and be established in power and righteousness in Jerusalem, the men of orthodox faith see all nations coming to do him honor and acknowledging his rightful sway over the world. They shall all worship the one God Jehovah and spread his name far and wide until the knowledge of Jehovah shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. But in it all the Jew remains distinct and stands first, the chosen of God, his messenger peculiarly fitted to do his bidding and accomplish his desires. Such is the hope and expectation of the more conservative wing of Judaism. The Reform Jews, on the other hand, have a different ideal. Universalism is far more prominent as an immediate possibility than among the orthodox. According to several declarations of conferences of American liberal rabbis, "The Messianic aim of Israel is not the restoration of the old Jewish State under a descendant of David, involving a second separation from the nations of the earth, but the union of all children of God in the confession of the unity of God, so as to realize the unity of all rational creatures and their call to moral sanctification."¹² And, again, to use the words of one of the leading authorities, "The Messianic idea now means to many Jews a belief in human development and progress, with the Jews filling the rôle of the Messianic people, but only as *primus inter pares*."¹³

Fear is expressed on the part of the conservatives that their liberal brethren are breaking down the wall of partition between Jew and Gentile. It is possible now for one who belongs to another race to ask for admission to a Reform synagogue and be received. This to a conservative is rank heresy. Their fundamental beliefs may be the same, but these newfangled notions are sure to wreck the hopes of the children of Israel. But even the most liberal are strongly of the opinion that since monotheism has not yet prevailed and Christianity has not succeeded in keeping the doctrine unsullied, their witness is essential to the religious development of the world and that this can best be accomplished by the

¹² Israel Abrahams, *Judaism*, pp. 93f.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

preservation of a separate and distinct people living among others but not of them through marriage and racial amalgamation.

In the matter of the ceremonial law and the historic festivals there is also a deep cleavage. In different degrees the orthodox hold fast the ancient traditions and with reluctance allow modifications to be introduced. They do not want to remove the old landmarks, fearing disintegration as a result. The Reform Jew, on the other hand, takes the position that ceremonies must prove their value under the conditions which now prevail, that they must not be retained merely because they have come down out of the past and have a certain historical value. In fact, he takes everything in Judaism—law, creed, ceremony, and custom—and subjects it to a searching criticism. He desires his religion to be effective in the present day, and is willing to lay aside any item which may seem to him an encumbrance. The pragmatic test is applied with vigor; the conservative stands by and wonders whether out of the process anything worthy the ancient glory of Israel will remain. Yet what is happening before our eyes is inevitable, and we may be sure that with all its transmutations Judaism will long remain a religion among the religions of the world. With their belief in one God, a God of moral concern, whose influence has pervaded every relationship, given sanctity to the home and dignity to the individual life, a belief which has made prayer and praise a constant practice of the people and has held them together through appalling experiences which might have shattered a spirit less tenacious, the people of Israel are with us today believing in themselves and in their destiny. Not accepting the idea of a mediator between God and men and rejecting the claims of that Man of Jewish race who might have led his people into a fulfillment of their highest ideals, they have been kept apart from a fellowship which might have brought in the era of peace among the nations generations or even centuries ago. What the future has in store we cannot say, but trusting in the same God and reading the same Scriptures of the Old Testament the Chris-

tian cannot but believe that the revelation of that God which is contained in those writings may yet assume to the Jew a new glory when seen in the face of Jesus Christ his Son.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (London, new edit., 1914). An epoch-making volume on the early religion of the Semitic peoples.
- Israel Abrahams, *Judaism* (London, 1910). A splendid little summary of the entire development.
- K. Kohler, *Jewish Theology* (New York, 1918). An extended statement from the standpoint of the Reform School.
- George Foot Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. II, Chaps. I-IV.
- W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (London, 2d and revised edit., 1911). A very important work, almost encyclopedic in scope.
- Morris Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life* (London, 5th edit., 1925). A statement of the faith by one who would be a mediator between extreme schools.
- W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, *Hebrew Religion, Its Origin and Development* (London, second, revised and enlarged edit., 1937). Most valuable for the period of the Old Testament.
- George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 2 vols., 1927). A most authoritative work by a master.

CHAPTER XII

MOHAMMEDANISM

THE PROPHET

ISLAM,¹ the religion of Mohammed, arose in Arabia. The followers of the Prophet fondly believe that their religion was a new creation, handed down bodily and in finished form from heaven. But even a rapid survey of the origins of the faith is sufficient to show that, with all Mohammed added, the religion is firmly rooted in the past, and has received a number of its characteristic features from the pre-existing heathenism of Arabia. The isolation and inaccessibility of the peninsula provided the conditions in which a development could take place hidden from the rest of the world until it was ready to start on its victorious march almost to the ends of the earth. Wellhausen speaks of the gods of Arabia as a "Rubbish-heap of divine names"; that is, the old religion was in a state of decrepitude. There were many of these deities, the most prominent of which was Allah. He was regarded as "the God," the supreme being, having three daughters, the significance of which will appear later. Professor Theodor Nöldeke believes that the name "Allah" may have been applied to a number of gods, and only gradually became the proper name of the Supreme God.² So Mohammed did not invent his Supreme Being; he clarified the conception and rid God of "partners," but the monotheistic idea was not new to Arabia when the Prophet arose. Mecca was already a sacred city, the most sacred in the land, with the cubical building, the Kaaba, the center of worship. Near by was the holy well, Zemzem, from which all pilgrims still drink.

¹ "Islam" means "to submit," and is the religion of submission to the will of Allah. "Moslem," "one who has submitted," is the name frequently used of the followers of Mohammed. Differing spellings of the name of the Prophet, his religion, sacred book, and other names need not concern us in this volume.

² Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, art., "Arabs (Ancient)."

The whole ritual of worship which is now followed was in existence and was taken over complete into his religion by Mohammed. Islam was not a bolt out of the blue, but an adaptation of much that was old, thinly disguised, and still persisting.

Mohammed, "the Praised," was born in Mecca, the posthumous son of Abdallah, of the tribe of the Koraish. The name "Ahmad" is also used in the *Koran* of the Prophet. When was he born? It is hard to say. The traditional date is 570 A. D., and that may be correct, but students have more recently questioned it. For example, Professor Henri Lammens³ holds that he was born about ten years later, in 580, while Professor Tor Andrae⁴ stands for an earlier date, even before 562. The question cannot be settled without further investigation. His mother died when he was a little lad, and he was given a home first by his grandfather and then by his uncle Abu Talib. As a young child he was sent to be nursed and cared for by a Bedouin woman in the desert. Mecca was not a place where children could be expected to thrive, so his mother was following a well-known custom. His mother's death, which probably occurred shortly after his return, made a deep impression on the boy. He never forgot that his mother had been left a widow and he an orphan. Throughout his life Mohammed was always solicitous that widows and orphans were cared for, and it has left an abiding mark on the religion which he founded. As a boy he doubtless tended his uncle's sheep. As he grew older he must have joined the caravans, which, with the entertainment of the pilgrims at the time of the feasts, were the source of Mecca's wealth. We do not know, but he may have visited distant parts of Arabia and the adjacent countries in this way. It is quite certain that he made at least one trip to the borders of Syria. This period of his life is so obscure that few statements can be made with confidence. He seems to have been well thought of, earning the name of Al Amin, the "Trusty," by some service faithfully rendered.

At about the age of twenty-five a most important event hap-

³ *Islam, Beliefs and Institutions*, p. 24.

⁴ *Mohammed, the Man and His Faith*, pp. 39f.

pened. A distant relative of his, the wealthy widow Khadijah, was looking for some person to take charge of her business affairs on one of the great caravan journeys on which she herself could not go. Her attention was directed to her kinsman Mohammed and the arrangement was made. He not only performed the service to her great satisfaction but was so pleasing to her in person and manner that she offered him her hand. He accepted and they were married, Mohammed a young man of twenty-five and she his senior by fifteen years. Yet with all the difference in age these two lived happily together until her death twenty-five years after. He never forgot her and always mentioned her with gratitude and respect to the end of his life. She must have been a remarkable woman. During the long period of their married life Mohammed did not take another wife. Several daughters were born of the union, only one of whom outlived him, the celebrated Fatima, who became the wife of Ali, one of the earliest of Mohammed's followers and famous in the early history of Islam.

Mohammed's marriage to Khadijah changed the whole course of his life. He had been a poor young man, but now, married to a wealthy woman, he had leisure. Naturally of a pensive disposition, he could give full rein to his inclination with no anxiety concerning his daily bread. What took place during the next fifteen years we have little means of knowing. He must have brooded long and earnestly over the moral tragedy of the universe and the issues of human life. Other men in Arabia at this time had become dissatisfied with the old paganism. We have some hazy knowledge of these seekers after truth, *Hanifs*, as they were called. They were seeking to find a pure religion and had a strong drawing toward monotheism. Eventually these men became either Christian or Mohammedan. But what influence they exercised on Mohammed must have been slight. One of them was a relative of Khadijah, and Mohammed may have met him in his own home. There is no indication that he ever had any leaning toward Christianity, although he had some knowledge, distorted and meager, of the stories and characters of the Old and New Testaments.

The Christianity with which he might have come into contact was so covered over with formalism and so lacking in vitality that there was little chance of his being drawn in that direction. He must work things out for himself in his own way.

In the year 610 A. D., so it is said, while Mohammed with his family was sojourning on Mount Hira, near Mecca, during the most trying season of the year, he had an experience which made him into a different man. He thought he heard a heavenly voice commanding him to convey a message. We may have a reminiscence of this experience in the 96th Sura or Chapter of the *Koran*.

“Recite thou, in the name of thy Lord who created;—
Created man from Clots of Blood:—
Recite thou! For thy Lord is the most Beneficent,
Who hath taught the use of the pen;—
Hath taught man that which he knoweth not.”

—(Rodwell's Translation.)

Doubtless the Meccans had recently learned how to read and write, and it was considered an evidence of divine favor. God was almighty; he had created man from “clots of blood,” which was their way of saying that God had created man out of some very insignificant thing. The climax of the revelation was that Mohammed was to proclaim a message, “Recite thou.” The participle of this verb is *Koran*, “that which is recited,” and appropriately becomes the name of the sacred book of the religion. It is literally the collection of the inspired utterances of the Prophet which he was to “recite” to the people.

Mohammed was deeply agitated by his experience. He was not sure of himself and was in doubt about the reality of the call. He waited for another revelation to confirm the trustworthiness of the first, but it did not come. Khadijah comforted him with the assurance that God had really spoken to him and would do so again if only he would have patience. But still there was no voice, and he was driven almost to desperation. He attempted to make away with his life by throwing himself to sure death over one of the precipices which abounded on

Mount Hira, but his good angel Khadijah interposed and kept him from carrying out his purpose. At last after two years (this is only one of the estimates of the length of the period of waiting) another revelation came. Again it is thought that we may have a clear echo of what took place in the 74th Sura of the *Koran*.

"O thou, enwrapped in thy mantle!
 Arise and warn!
 Thy Lord—magnify Him!
 Thy Raiment—purify it!
 The abomination—flee it!
 And bestow not favors that thou mayest receive again with increase;
 And for thy Lord wait thou patiently.
 For when there shall be a trump on the trumpet,
 That shall be a distressful day,
 A day, to the Infidels, devoid of ease."

—(Rodwell's Translation.)

What we may be sure of is that gradually, through a period, long or short we do not know, Mohammed arrived at the conviction that he was the mouthpiece of Allah. From this time to the end of his life the Prophet never doubted that he was in immediate contact with God. The revelations were forthcoming whenever circumstances called for an authoritative word. He now had been told to "arise and warn," to preach the message of God whether men were pleased with it or not, to herald the coming of the Day of Judgment, when unbelievers would find themselves in dire distress.

But why that strange phrase, "O thou, enwrapped in thy mantle"? There is much obscurity relative to the physical accompaniments of the revelations. They came to him in various forms and under different conditions. Here it seems to have been while he was closely blanketed. Was it during a seizure, say of epilepsy, or a kindred malady? There are many who find evidence that Mohammed was subject to such attacks, and that this accounts for many things which otherwise would have no explanation. They think of Mohammed as a "patho-

logical case,"⁵ that he was not quite normal physically and mentally, and that the enigma of his character and personality is to be solved only on this supposition. On the other hand, it is just as confidently asserted that the Prophet was a perfectly normal human being, deeply sensitive to suggestions which came to him from what he felt assured was the spiritual world, but none the less normal for that.⁶

If the so-called second revelation came in the year 612, the remainder of his life falls into two periods of ten years each, the first of which was spent in Mecca, the latter in Medina. Mohammed immediately began to preach to his friends in Mecca. The burden of his message was that there was but one God, Allah, that he would not tolerate the worship of any other gods ("adding partners to God," was the phrase used), that idolatry was an abomination, and that a Day of Judgment was coming, when all those who refused to listen would be hurled into the raging fire of Hell. Not many listened to him. Khadijah became his first convert. She was followed by a few others of the best people in Mecca. There were Abu Bakr, Ali, and finally Omar, all of whom became Caliphs or "successors" of the Prophet. But aside from these and a few others the Meccans turned a deaf ear to his warnings. Only a small group of slaves and lowly people accepted his leadership, and these, because they had no standing in the community, were made the butt of ridicule and abuse. It was carried to such an extent that with Mohammed's consent they left the country and found a refuge in the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia across the Red Sea. Once they came back on hearing that a better feeling existed between the Prophet and the citizens of Mecca, but it was so short-lived that they hastened back to their exile. How long they remained there we do not know. Indeed, the whole matter is hazy and indefinite.

The better feeling which has been alluded to was occasioned by a temporary willingness on the part of Mohammed to recog-

⁵ D. B. Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, p. 60.

⁶ Tor Andrae, *Mohammed, the Man and His Faith*, pp. 67f.

nize that the "daughters" of Allah, believed in from of old by the Meccans, might be considered as "intercessors" between men and Allah. The Meccans thought they had gained a point and were willing now to listen to the preaching of their fellow townsman. He repented, however, of his weakness in a short time and withdrew the concession entirely. This made the Meccans all the more bitter and the breach between them widened. It came to such a pass that a ban was proclaimed against Mohammed and his people. They were ostracized and lived precariously and more or less alone. This period lasted, it may be, for two years. The climax was reached for Mohammed in the year 620 with the death of his faithful companion Khadijah and of his protector Abu Talib. His uncle had never embraced Islam, but stood by his protégé until the end. No one could lay hands on Mohammed while Abu Talib lived. So it was a serious matter when Mohammed lost the protection of the arm of his powerful uncle. But even more serious was the loss of his wife. She had been his balance wheel for many years. Her wisdom and judgment, coupled with her devotion, undoubtedly had saved many a difficult situation. Now she was gone, and Mohammed was never quite the same again.

The question of the sincerity of the Prophet of Islam has been a difficult problem. The evidence up to this point does not justify an adverse judgment. It would be impossible to explain the calm assurance of Mohammed on any other basis than that of complete sincerity. The early utterances in the *Koran* have the ring of genuineness. To call him the "False Prophet," as has so often been done, cannot be justified, especially in the early period in Mecca. He preached his doctrine unhesitatingly despite the opposition of the Meccans, whom he was trying to win. Political expediency would have dictated a different course. The compromise with the Meccans was a momentary weakness. His deliberate judgment is to be seen in his return to his former position, from which he never deviated afterward. He chose the unpopular way whether it brought him success or not. The problem becomes more complicated, however, as we follow him from Mecca to Medina. Professor Tor Andrae

finds it "difficult to think of the lengthy and often quite sober and prosaic decrees of the last years at Medina as the product of genuine and immediate inspiration,"⁷ and yet the same claim is made for these utterances as for those which came earlier. Other reasons will emerge which will make it still more difficult to justify the claim of inspiration.

The Prophet had come to realize that Mecca offered him no field; he must go elsewhere if he were to secure the favorable hearing he desired. He began to look around. He went to Taif, not many miles away, to try out his message, but was stoned out of the city. But about this time he discovered that two Arab tribes in Medina which had for many years been in a jealous contest for supremacy were now anxious to compose their differences under a common leader. This was a splendid opportunity and Mohammed seized it. Medina was the city from which his mother had come and he was not unfamiliar with its problems. It took some time to make such arrangements as would be acceptable to all parties, so it was not until the year 622 that the transfer was made. In the middle of that year, after his followers had slipped away in little groups, the Prophet and Abu Bakr left Mecca secretly and made their way by a roundabout route to Medina, two hundred and fifty miles to the north. This Flight, or Hegira, marks the year 1 A. H. (Anno Hegirae) in Mohammedan chronology. It is a date of which we can be certain. Mohammed settled down and made Medina his home until he died after ten years in 632 A. D. While in Mecca Mohammed had been a preacher of righteousness, a "warner" of the wrath to come. He stood as a Prophet of God much as the Old Testament prophets, whose successor he felt himself to be. Now it is different. He is a civil ruler, a potentate, with administrative problems on his hands and with a position to maintain against his enemies. He became perforce a soldier, making war and resisting attack—a very different rôle all around from that in Mecca. And the difference within would seem to be as great as that of the outward circumstances.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

For these ten years Mohammed led a strenuous life, which it is impossible here to follow in detail. He began as the ruler of Medina with the very doubtful allegiance of very few tribesmen; he ended his career as the recognized ruler of all Arabia. Summary commands had even been sent out to surrounding nations warning them against resisting the claims of the Prophet. Mecca had been captured with no bloodshed, the people opening the gates of the city and receiving their old townsman with open arms. The sweep was complete. It had not been accomplished without opposition and bloody contests. Mohammed gave himself to practices—breaking the sacred months of truce, assassination of personal enemies, raiding the caravans of the Meccans—which may have been necessary in order to secure the mastery of Arabia, but which are hard to defend when they are the deeds of one who is a preacher of righteousness and who claims to be voicing the inner counsels of God. The battle was not always in favor of Mohammed, but steadily and persistently he followed his course, whether circumstances were for him or against him and by fair means or foul, until he had attained his ambition. With Arabia at his feet it is claimed by some that he looked out on new worlds to conquer, and the great campaigns which were carried on after his death were probably born in the mind of Mohammed himself. His ambition had grown until it would brook no restraint.

When the Prophet went to Medina, three tribes of Jews occupied a special section of the area which made up the larger community or settlement. They thought Mohammed might accept their faith because he had begun to claim that he was restoring the true religion of Abraham. Mohammed on his side thought the Jews would accept him as one of the prophets and receive his message as a divine revelation. Both were soon brought to disappointment. For one cause or another Mohammed took aggressive action against the Jews. Their tragic fate is one of the darkest blots on the reputation of the Prophet. Two of the tribes were sent into exile or banished, and the third suffered a more terrible fate. Under circumstances which do

little to mitigate the horror the women and children were sold into slavery, and the men—six or eight hundred of them, according to early estimates—were butchered in cold blood, their bodies in little groups of threes and fours dropping into an enormous ditch which had been prepared for their bloody reception. The Prophet of God gave his sanction to this unbelievable cruelty with no compunctions and with no diminution of his claim to be the obedient servant of the great God of justice and mercy! This act has been excused on the plea of military necessity, yet it stands out as a massacre which might have been averted had Mohammed so desired.

Whatever may have been in his mind before the death of Khadijah Mohammed took no second wife while she lived. But when she died he soon married again and continued to increase his family until he had twelve or thirteen wives, not counting slave girls, in his harem. Whatever we may think of polygamy, such conduct on the part of the Prophet did not affect his followers. They simply took it for granted as an accepted institution. But the conditions under which he took several of his wives were such as to make it impossible for us to doubt that Mohammed was displaying sure signs of being a sensualist. In one case, when he married the wife of his adopted son, Zeid, who divorced her that she might become the wife of the Prophet, even his followers were scandalized, and only the prompt arrival of a revelation from Allah saved his face and made it right for him to do as he had done. Only by such a terrible expedient did he cover the all too controlling passion which lay so near the surface of his life. The Prophet was very jealous; he feared that others might be enamoured of his wives, and this has been said to be the real motive which led to the seclusion of women. Again we are on dangerous and uncertain ground. We know that wherever Islam has gone women have suffered by being secluded from social relations with any outside their own homes. How much Mohammed himself was responsible for this is uncertain. He was, it is true, a man of his time, but woman's emancipation has been made

more difficult because of his attitude. There is a saying credited to the Prophet which shows the strange contradictions in his life; "Three things have been especially dear to me in this world. I have loved women and pleasant odors, but the solace of my heart has been prayer."

We must go a little further. Here is a seemingly sincere preacher of righteousness, and now in the last ten years of his life there is a period which Professor Macdonald speaks of as "the last terrible ten years."⁸ What is the explanation? Are we not justified in saying that the loss of his wife Khadijah and the accession of power as a ruler in Medina reveals another side of his nature, and that which had been held in control before now gained the ascendancy and made him into a different man? He may have been not quite normal, and undoubtedly his inner nature had not been fortified by careful discipline during his outwardly correct years. It is evident that the loss of his moral stay in his wife and the rapid increase of power touched the two weak spots in Mohammed's character—lust for power and love of women. Yet with all that may be said on this side, the Prophet appeared to his followers and must, as we see him through their eyes, likewise appear to us as a reformer. He found the Arabs practicing infanticide—of girl babies—and he put an end to this effectively and for all time; he found the Arabs torn and weakened by the blood-feud, and he welded them into a single brotherhood; he found them worshiping many gods, and when he died they were acclaiming Allah as the one God Almighty. He even curbed the sexual proclivity of his Arab followers and did away with the promiscuity which had been so common. He was a reformer, but failed at the crucial point of personal character. The pathos is that his greatness should have blinded the eyes of his followers so that this very human man should be held by them to be a model, a very paragon of excellence. It has been a weight on the religion which has kept it down on a low level of moral attainment and aspiration.

⁸ *Aspects of Islam*, p. 74.

FAITH AND PRACTICE

When Mohammed died in 632 the *Koran* had not been compiled. It could be recited by those who had been his close companions, but very little had been reduced to writing. When quite a number of the Prophet's "Companions" were killed in a desperate battle about a year after his death it became evident that something must be done, or the inspired words would soon be lost. One compilation was made by Zeid, Mohammed's former amanuensis, and, when disputes arose over various readings, a recension was made by Zeid and several members of Mohammed's own tribe, and this has been the standard version down to the present day. The finished work, written in Arabic, the "Language of the Angels," is about as long as the New Testament. It consists of one hundred and fourteen chapters, or suras, of very unequal length. They are arranged in general with the long suras first and the short suras last, but this order is almost the exact reverse of the correct chronological order. The lack of a sufficient number of names and dates by which the various sections can be identified and correctly placed in the life story of the Prophet renders the *Koran* a most difficult book to use historically. Yet it is our chief source on Mohammed. It is his book; it undoubtedly came from him and is a correct transcript of his mind and the development of his thought. The frequent repetition of the word "say" indicates that in Mohammed's mind God is the speaker and dictates to the Prophet what he is to "say" to the people. The Mohammedan theory of the *Koran* is the most extreme illustration in any literature of plenary verbal inspiration. The accepted doctrine in the Mohammedan world is that the *Koran* is the uncreated word of God, which has always existed at the right hand of Allah and which was delivered to Gabriel, who in turn was to convey it piecemeal to the Prophet as each foreordained need should arise. Professor Henri Lammens says that the *Koran* is uncreated, "in the sense not only that it reproduces a copy conforming to the prototype of the divine revelation, but that in its actual form, in its phonetic and graphic reproduction, in

the linguistic garb of the Arab tongue, it is identical and co-eternal with its celestial original."⁹ There are many lofty passages filled with poetic fire and the burning passion of righteousness, but when the "awful machinery of divine inspiration" is used to cover his own sensuality and to compose petty difficulties in his harem the sincerity of Mohammed is severely strained and the *Koran* becomes a very human document, of great interest withal because it opens the way into the mind and heart of one of the most compelling of men.

The *Koran* is the chief foundation of Islam, the authority par excellence on doctrine, ethics, and customs. But much that Mohammedans believe and practice is taken from the Traditions, the Sunna, as they are called. "The term signifies the custom, habit, usage of the Prophet."¹⁰ They cover all phases of life and are believed in by all the Faithful. They are literally "traditions," handed down by word of mouth in the early day until they were put down in writing. They differ in authority, depending on the trustworthiness of the persons from whom they have been derived. Collections of the Traditions have been made, which are received as standard by the people. In recent years the tendency among European scholars has been to discredit a large number of the received traditions, some going to such extremes that little confidence can be placed in any fact concerning Mohammed and his life unless it can be verified from other sources. This is undoubtedly going too far, but enough has been done to make the student wary of overconfidence in making statements he might have felt sure of a quarter of a century ago. These two sources, the *Koran* and the Traditions, are called the Roots of Islam—there are also two Branches.

Should the followers of Mohammed agree on any point which is not specifically covered either in the *Koran* or the Traditions that "Agreement," or *Ijma*, is accepted as authoritative. Now, of course, practically it is the agreement of the doctors of the law, the recognized leaders of Mohammedan opin-

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁰ F. A. Klein, *The Religion of Islam*, p. 24.

ion, but with Islam divided as it is today even this is not easy to achieve so there shall be any real consensus on any subject. Space is taken to mention it here because any advance or change in thought and practice the religion may make in the future depends upon this possibility. The statement is frequently made that a changed Islam is no longer Islam, but Islam has changed in the past, and, with the pressure of a new world situation, is changing rapidly before our eyes. There are scarcely any limits to the possibility of transformation when a religion, brought to bay, attempts to fit itself to new conditions. Whether the changes are fundamental or only on the surface, they will be made, in spite of conservatives who are outraged by departure from the old landmarks. The last and least significant of the sources of Islam, one of the Branches, is Qias, or reasoning by analogy. The learned doctors may deal with new problems which arise by comparing them with similar cases already settled. The decision must be based on the *Koran*, the Sunna, and the Ijma, to be valid, but it does keep open the way to change and advance. In these ways do the Mohammedans seek to meet new situations as they rise and still be true to the original faith of Mohammed.

The religion of Islam is divided into two main divisions, practical duties and doctrines to be believed. The duties are five in number, called the Five Pillars of the Faith. There are other lesser duties, but these stand out as the cardinal points of practice, necessary to one who claims to be a follower of the Prophet. The first is the repetition of the creed, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah." The simplest of all creeds, to be learned quickly and never to be forgotten, its hold on the Moslem world has been tremendous. It is repeated at sundry and all times until it eats its way into the inner core of a man's being, almost never to be eradicated. Gibbon speaks of it as "an eternal truth and a necessary fiction." The idea of one God is the eternal truth, but Islam needs more; the apostleship of Mohammed is essential if Islam is to be Islam at all.

The second duty is the observance of the five stated daily

prayers. These prayers must be preceded by ceremonial lustrations, with water if it is to be had, otherwise with clean desert sand. The prayers are to be said either in public or private and always in the direction of the sacred Kaaba in Mecca. The times for these devotional periods are highly important—just before sunrise, at high noon, in the later afternoon (at the “yellowing” of the sun, as it is known in the desert), just after sunset, and lastly when night shuts in. At these times the Muezzin, or crier, ascends the minaret and summons the faithful to prayer. The human voice is the church bell in Moslem lands. There are other prayers, but these are the regularly designated seasons when without fail all must turn to Mecca and go through the carefully regulated acts which accompany the repetition of the well-known formulas. The hushed stillness of reverence is upon a Mohammedan as he bows before Allah and makes his requests known to him.

The third Pillar is the thirty days’ Fast of Ramadan. During this sacred month the faithful are to abstain from food, drink, and bodily pleasure from sunrise to sunset. It is carried so far that one is supposed not to swallow his own saliva. The fast is not a severe hardship when the month comes in the cool season, but when it falls in the torrid season it becomes a real burden. Mohammed, probably out of sheer ignorance, would have nothing of intercalated months, with the result that the months move slowly through the seasons and do not remain fixed. The Ramadan fast is strictly observed, but, like so much in Islam, the observance is purely formal. Those who fast all day are likely to feast all night—it makes no difference so long as the letter of the law is kept.

The fourth duty is that of Almsgiving, which is expected of every Moslem. In an Islamic country under Moslem officials the alms are collected like a tax, but there are few countries under Moslem rule today, so it becomes a matter on each one’s conscience. Let us give the Mohammedans credit for taking care of their poor. This practice harks back to the Prophet himself, who set the example of charity and kindness to those in need, particularly widows and orphans. He had been left an

orphan and his mother a widow, and he could never forget other unfortunates.

The last of the duties or Pillars is Pilgrimage to Mecca. It is the duty of every Moslem once in his life to undertake the journey. If a man cannot go himself, it is meritorious to send someone and thus go by proxy. The Pilgrimage must be made at the appointed season. The details of the ceremonies connected with it are quite elaborate. They include the wearing of the Ihram, or two seamless wrappers, which must be put on as one comes to the borders of the sacred region; standing on Mount Arafat, near Mecca; going around the Kaaba seven times, during which each must kiss or touch the holy stone, which is fixed in one corner of the building; tasting the waters of the well Zemzem; and doing other strange and unique things, all of which have a well-known significance.

Another recognized duty, not included in the Pillars, is that of Jihad, or the Holy War, which Moslem powers wage against unbelievers. The last attempt to declare Jihad was in the fall of 1914, when the Sheik-ul-Islam, the spiritual head of Islam in Turkey, obeying the orders of the Sultan, called upon all Moslems everywhere to turn against the enemies of Turkey and fight the battles of the faith. It was a Holy War so evidently "Made in Germany," as Professor Snouck Hurgronje put it, that its call was only heeded as far as Germany's influence extended and fell on deaf ears in most of the Moslem world, which remained true to the Allies. It would seem that the "Holy War" is completely in abeyance at the present time, especially since the end of the Pan-Islamic movement which was fostered so ardently by the Sultan of Turkey in the days before the World War.

The essential doctrines of Mohammedanism are as definitely stated as the duties. They are again five in number, the first being that of God, which we shall discuss last. The next is that of angels, the servants of God, whose one desire is to love and know God. They are free from all sin, and act as intercessors for men before God. Besides the angels are the *jinn*, who also must be believed in. They are the genii of the *Arabian Nights*,

some of whom are believers and some infidels. They were inherited, like so many other things in this religion, from the superstitions of pre-Islamic paganism. The doctrine of the Books stands next. The chief sacred books are the *Koran*, the Pentateuch, the *Zabur*, or Psalms of David, and the *Injil*, or Gospel of Jesus. The orthodox believe that all previous books are abrogated by the *Koran*, thus practically rejecting the Old and New Testaments, although every reference to the Bible in the *Koran* is favorable to a belief in its inspiration and authority. The fourth doctrine is that of the Prophets. Many are mentioned, but the leading names are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed. It is held that all the others were sent to their own people while Mohammed was sent to all peoples. Jesus, as is seen, is recognized as a prophet, the only sinless one among them, according to the *Koran* and the traditions. His death on the cross is denied as beneath the dignity of one of God's chosen ones. But the one overwhelming fact enunciated by this doctrine is that Mohammed is the Prophet superseding all others. They led up to and pointed toward him, and only by accepting his claims can one be true to the essential message of them all. Then follows the doctrine of the Resurrection and the Last Day. There will be the sounding of the Trumpets, the Descent of the Books, the weighing in the Balances, and the crossing of the Narrow Bridge, from which the wicked fall off into the fiery pit below. All mankind, good and bad, will be raised and will answer for their deeds. All Moslems will in the end be saved no matter what their record may have been. The last state is in heaven or hell, both of which are pictured with vivid imagery, calculated to appeal to the imagination of the dweller in the desert.

The doctrine of God is so important that it occupies nine tenths of the space in Mohammedan works on theology. There is but one God, Allah, and he is the omnipotent Creator and Ruler of the universe. He has many qualities, which the Moslem expresses by repeating the ninety-nine most beautiful names of God. Of these attributes, or qualities, what are called the essential attributes are life, knowledge (absolute omnis-

science), power, and will. The doctrine of the foreordination of good and evil follows logically from the emphasis which is put on the almightiness of Allah. It has had an interesting history. The Prophet was no theologian and gave expression to contradictory views in the *Koran*, but as the suras are studied in chronological order predestination becomes more marked. There the beginnings are found of the fatalistic pall which has always hung over Islam, smothering any moral enthusiasm and rendering difficult any movement toward social reform. Was it not all predetermined by the Almighty Allah, so what can we do about it? Only once was the doctrine seriously challenged. For thirty-four years at the beginning of the third Islamic century, that is, about 825 A. D., a party flourished in Bagdad, which denied divine predestination and asserted free will in man. These Freethinkers in Islam, Mutazilites, or "Seceders," as they were called, held other unorthodox doctrines, such as the creation of the *Koran*. They possessed great influence until they were overcome and in turn suffered the persecution they had inflicted on the more orthodox. They were discomfited in debate and were unable again to lift up their heads through the victory of al-Ashari, the orthodox champion, who had once been a Mutazilite himself. He was a master of dialectic and brought over into Islamic theology the methods of the scholastic philosophy. He gave a great impetus to orthodoxy, which retains its almost undisputed hold today. No feature is emphasized with more insistence than the doctrine of God's unchangeable decrees, predetermining all that happens in the world of nature and of men.

With all the *Koran* says about the mercy and compassion of Allah, the great, overshadowing attribute is power. This was Mohammed's emphasis, and it still rules the Islamic world. It is power unlimited, unrestrained by any law of holiness or love. This would lessen the dignity of Allah and bring him down from the throne of his unapproachable might. It makes no difference to the Moslem to have it suggested that it might be an inner limitation, growing out of the very nature of God, which is essentially holiness and love. It would be a limitation

nevertheless, and that is enough for him to spurn the suggestion as entirely untenable. Allah must be able to do as he wills with no let nor hindrance. In this way Islam has failed in its morality and its ethical system, not being able to think of right and wrong as involving a distinction in the essential nature of God. What God wills is right because he wills it, and not because it expresses what is even deeper than will, the very nature of God himself, which is righteousness and love. Sin, then, in man is not a breach of a moral law founded on an eternal ethical cleavage which goes right to the heart of the universe itself, but a mere violation of an arbitrary command which might be changed according to the whim or caprice of Allah. He thus becomes a typical Oriental despot, irresponsible and unrestrained by an undeviating principle of righteousness within.

Another doctrine must be coupled with this to appreciate the kind of God Allah is in relation to his people. It is the doctrine of "difference," which asserts the absolute difference between Allah and mankind. God is not a Father; that would be to make him like men, for the term "father" suggests to Moslems primarily and almost entirely physical generation, which they hold would be unworthy of God. So man is in no sense a son partaking of the divine nature; he was not made in the image of God. God must not be brought down to so low a level as that, the Moslem says. Man is carnal and must always remain so. Salvation does not mean the development of the divine nature within so as to fit man for spiritual communion with his Father. It is merely such an obedience to the rules and regulations which have been laid down that man may secure the reward in heaven which Allah has promised. And the heaven is not spiritual, but one suited to the physical desires which man is conscious of and which he will never outgrow. It is a luscious garden of fruits and running streams with delightful nooks in which are the *houris*, or damsels, which are the principal reward of the righteous. Such is Islam as it is commonly taught, holding men down to the purely physical, and failing to lift their eyes to a world of spiritual light and beauty where we shall be with God and see him and be like him.

But there were and are Moslems not satisfied with such an outlook. Mysticism has also found a home in Islam as in Christianity. There have been men who felt that God was in their hearts and was speaking to them, who desired communion with him and would be satisfied with nothing else. They are men who desire purity of life, some even going to the extreme of severe asceticism to accomplish their purpose. The greatest of these was al-Ghazzali, who died 1111 A. D. He was sure that there was that in man which could come into contact with God. His experience was more than could be explained by the barren formulas of the scholastic theology. Yet he was not unorthodox. He accepted the apostleship of the Prophet, the authority of the *Koran*, and the Traditions, and used the methods of the scholastic philosophy. But he was a mystic, seeing the inner light and experiencing the glow of the quiet presence of God in his inmost being. He could not deny this reality, and his great work was "to reduce to an orthodox possibility those mystical conceptions, and to find a resting place for that possibility in the church of Islam."¹¹ Others went far beyond al-Ghazzali and were not so wise as he. They did not stop until they had landed in sheer pantheism, virtually denying all the specific doctrines of their faith and holding that all beliefs and outward practices were meaningless in the presence of the mystic union of the soul and the great All, whom they might still call Allah, but whose character as held by the orthodox theologians they had completely denied. The mystical experience was given another vent, however, in the Darwish orders, which are scattered so widely over the Islamic world. The meetings of these brotherhoods seek to stimulate the emotional experience by well-worked-out exercises. Though they may be a poor substitute for the communion with God which Christians experience in Jesus Christ, they give abundant testimony to the presence in the heart of Moslems of a longing after God which only his presence can satisfy.

¹¹ D. B. Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, p. 194.

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

The rapid expansion of Islam is one of the marvels of history. When Mohammed died in 632, plans of conquest were said to be already in his mind. During the period of the first four, or orthodox, Caliphs (632-661) Persia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were subjugated. The home lands of Christianity were swept out of control of the Church. In the year 711 the Moslem armies entered Spain, having already crossed the entire breadth of North Africa, and by 732 were to be found as far north as central France. Here at Tours they were met by King Charles, who received the name of Martel, or "Hammer," from this battle, and suffered a decisive defeat, the first check the Moslem had met in his victorious progress. The battle of Tours was one of the decisive battles of the world. The fate of Europe was decided that day, whether it should be Moslem or Christian. The Moslem hordes were driven back across the Pyrenees into Spain, where they remained in possession of the greater part of the country for hundreds of years. They built up a notable civilization in Southern Spain, the glories of the Alhambra giving evidence of their wonderful architectural ability. It was the same in other lines, notably in philosophy. They were finally driven out in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella in the fifteenth century, and Christianity again was triumphant in the Iberian Peninsula.

After the four orthodox Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman, and Ali, who ruled from the old seat of authority in Arabia, the center was shifted to Damascus, where the Omayyad Caliphs ruled from 661 to 750. Then again there was a transfer and for a brilliant period Bagdad was the center of the Islamic world. Here the Abbasid Caliphs held sway in pomp and splendor from 750 to 1258. The last centuries saw degeneracy and the slow but sure decline of Arab prestige. The authority was passing over to the Turks, who had come in from Central Asia and were making themselves masters of the situation in Asia Minor.

How account for the expansion of Islam? Canon W. H.

T. Gairdner mentions¹² a number of factors which help in arriving at a conclusion. Zeal for God was a motive, not un-mixed with baser elements, which welded the loosely organized Arab tribesmen into a compact body and drove them out to do battle against the enemies of Allah. To this must be added zeal for plunder and slaves. This made a strong appeal to the Arab. He was to be the soldier of Islam supported by the tribute of the peoples he conquered. Arabia thus became the breeding place and training ground for army after army which went out to conquer a world. The exhaustion might have come sooner than it did had it not been for the importation of large numbers of concubines and women slaves which were increased greatly by the wars. The countries which were conquered fell by the sword, but after the initial bloodshed there was usually peace. The enormous numbers converted to Islam were not necessarily forced into Islam at the edge of the sword, though that happened at times. With a nation the alternative was Islam or the sword, but with an individual after the new religion had been installed it was Islam or tribute. They might remain Christians on condition of paying tribute, and many did this, as witness the Coptic Church in Egypt, the Armenian, and other of the so-called Oriental Christian churches in the Near East. When they turned Moslem it was usually the pressure of the whole system. Under Islam, even if they remained Christian, there was a large measure of justice and less persecution than was frequently the case when intolerance marked the attitude of the warring sects in the decaying Eastern Roman Empire. It was a positive relief, for example, in Egypt, to pass from Christian rule to that of Islam. As soon as the Christians paid the tribute they were under Moslem protection. The sexual freedom allowed under Islam was a strong inducement to men not strongly under the influence of Christian ideals. The Moslem soldiers and those who followed the armies into any country were free to intermarry with any of the women of the land, and of course the children were always Mohammedans.

¹² *Rebuke of Islam*, Chap. III.

Thus Islam won its victories, both as a political force and as a religion. The kind of Christianity Islam met could expect no other fate. It was weak and corrupt and divided and did not have the slightest chance against so determined and convinced an adversary.

During the last two centuries of the Caliphate in Bagdad the real strength of Islam as a political power was Turkish. The Turks had been brought to Bagdad as the bodyguard of the Caliphs, with little thought that they would so soon assume the rule. First the Seljukian Turks (from the year 1037) and then the Othmanli, or Ottoman Turks (from 1299 to the present time), took the lead. The Arab, seemingly having had his day, retired into the background and has never been able to regain the position he once held. During the period of the Seljuks occurred the crusades, when Christian Europe made the desperate attempt to wrest the holy sepulcher of our Lord from the Moslem, and, after temporary success, was hurled back by the followers of Mohammed. The Turks made Asia Minor completely Moslem, crossed over into Europe and captured province after province, until finally in 1453 Constantinople fell and the old Eastern Empire came to an end. The tidal wave of Mohammedan advance was not stopped until late in the seventeenth century, when Vienna was besieged, only to be relieved by the Polish King John Sobieski. So far into Central Europe did Islamic armies penetrate, this time from the east, as in the eighth century they had done, coming from the west. But the real turn of the tide against Moslem advance did not take place until the Greek War of Independence early in the nineteenth century. Since then the retrograde movement has been rapid, so that at the opening of the World War in 1914 Turkey in Europe consisted only of the city of Constantinople and a few square miles of adjacent territory.

But to return to the early days of life and vigor, Islam under the Turk expanded eastward over Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and down into the plains of India. The forays into India began about the year 1000 A. D. under Mahmud of Ghazni, who was little better than a freebooter. In course of time Delhi became

the capital of a Mohammedan empire, which under the Mogul emperors (1525-1707) was one of the most brilliant epochs of Indian as well as of Islamic history. During these years the faith penetrated more deeply into Central Asia, and going on from there entered China as a powerful force. It had already been known in that country, but relatively small in numbers and weak in influence. In 1507 Islam was carried by peaceful penetration into the southeast and found lodgment in the island world, where it is still spreading and making converts. Java with its population of twenty-five millions is practically Moslem, the center of the faith among the Malays. The Moros in the Sulu Archipelago of the Philippine Islands are the farthest outreach of the faith of the Prophet to the East. Here they are now, while Filipino independence remains in uncertain abeyance, under the protection of the United States.

The western area of the medieval advance of Islam was in Africa, in the Sahara and the Sudan. The Sahara fell rapidly to Islam, the inducement to the Arabs being trade in ivory and slaves. They introduced the camel as they advanced, penetrating farther and farther to the south and capturing some of the best people in northern Sudan. Then after a quiescence of three hundred years, during which Islam remained almost stationary, the advance southward was begun again in our own day and threatens to submerge the continent. Africa will not long remain pagan; will she be Moslem or Christian? The odds are now greatly in favor of the religion of the Arabian Prophet. Why this advance after centuries of inactivity? So long as the slave-trade continued to exist the Arab traders could not desire the conversion of the black men, for by Moslem law they were forbidden from making slaves of fellow Moslems—they all belonged to one great brotherhood. But when the trade in slaves was reduced to a minimum by European intervention it was now to the advantage of the traders to deal with the blacks as Moslems. Their wants would be increased and their desires stimulated, as was impossible in their pagan condition. Then, too, when European governments in the last half century have inaugurated the rule of law and order wars were

brought to an end and the tribes were compelled to lay down their arms, thus taking away the one effective pagan protection against Islam. For generations and even centuries they had rigorously excluded any Mohammedan under any pretext. They feared the influence of Islam like a pestilence. But now Mohammedan traders and schoolteachers and missionaries have access everywhere, and they are making the most of their opportunity. When to all this is added the actual patronage of Islam by certain governments for reasons of political expediency and as a means of control, the impression made on the native is likely to be favorable to the religion of the Prophet—a strange commentary on the influence of so-called Christian nations.

Thus Islam has advanced until today, with an estimated strength of two hundred millions, scattered all the way from China to the shores of the Atlantic in Africa and from the banks of the Volga in Russia to the waters of the South Seas, the religion of Mohammed is a world religion, the most powerful of all the rivals of Christianity in its attempt to win mankind. It has been said that Islam is a stepping-stone toward Christianity. Undoubtedly when a pagan tribe is converted, it is raised to a slightly higher level. But unfortunately it is left there stranded with no possibility of further progress. Islam adds dignity to the savage, clothes him in a certain respectability, and brings him within the bounds of a world-embracing brotherhood. These benefits, together with that of a belief in one great God, Allah, instead of cringing fear in the presence of a thousand spirits and demons, must be acknowledged in spite of the fact that the change in many cases is more seeming than real. But—and this is the final test—when Islam allows even greater sensuality, stimulates divorce and polygamy and, in so far as it dares, slavery; when its presence results in the seclusion and neglect of women, the religion of Islam can only be looked upon as a drawback to the advance which should be looked for in any people. And as for being a stepping-stone, the proud and overbearing attitude which is always assumed in the presence of the followers of any other religion—and this is particularly true of

Christians—would make Islam appear to be the greatest barrier to the progress of Christianity in the world today.

But even Islam has not presented a united front. Deep cleavages began soon to appear and have always been present. The most significant is that between the Sunnis and the Shiites. The Sunnis represent the great body of Moslems, the followers of the Sunna, or Traditions. The Shiites, or "Followers," are the adherents of Ali, who married Mohammed's daughter Fatima and thus continued the Prophet's line. The Shiites hold to "the divine right of the descendants of the Prophet through the children of Ali and Fatima"¹³ to be the rulers of the Islamic world. This claim is repudiated by the Sunnis, who have allowed the choice of the people and political circumstances to determine the leadership of the Faithful. The Shiites, who are about nine millions strong, are found principally in Persia, though likeminded believers in Ali are widely scattered in other Moslem lands. To them Ali was the first Imam, or head of the religion, after the Prophet. He is raised to such a level that even Mohammed pales into insignificance before him. An Imam is imperative for every age as the religious authority for the people as well as their political ruler. There have been twelve of these Imams (or seven on a theory accepted by another group), the last of whom is still alive, though he has disappeared and exerts his influence invisibly. In the end a Mahdi, or guide, is to appear to restore all things and usher in the final consummation. The Messianic idea thus has its place in Islam, repudiated for the most part by the Sunnis but becoming "the vital nerve of the entire Shiite system."¹⁴ When to their positive views the Shiites have added intolerance, even to fellow Mohammedans not agreeing with them, this division in their ranks has proved a serious impediment to unity of thought and purpose.

Out of Shiite Mohammedanism has come Bahaism (originally Babism), which has significance because of its influence in Persia and because it has been carried into the Western world

¹³ Goldziher, *Mohammed and Islam*, p. 222.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

and has a following in the United States. There is a remarkable temple in process of erection in Wilmette, a suburb of Chicago, well worthy of investigation. The story is a long one, hard to summarize briefly. This cult arose in 1844 in Persia through the claim of one Ali Mohammed that he was the Bab, or "gate," through which contact is established with the Imam, now in a state of "accullation." Because of his political activity, arising out of his religious claims, he was put to death in 1850, as were a large group of his devoted followers. But the movement did not die; it came to life again in the claims and activity of Bahauallah, a very remarkable thinker and seer, who made his center in Palestine. From here his message of world peace and good will to all has gone out through the world. He has passed on as has also his son, Abdul Baha, but the movement continues to attract a small number of high-minded people who at the same time are fascinated with the East. It does not have a high reputation in Persia, where most of its followers are to be found, and in America it has not won a wide allegiance. Its Islamic connection is not made prominent in this country, but its connection with Shiite Islam becomes evident with very little study—and it is an evidence of the expansive power of the faith originally promulgated by Mohammed.¹⁵

ISLAM IN THE WORLD TODAY

It was in 1908 that Lord Cromer, governor-general of Egypt, declared in his work, *Modern Egypt*, that "reformed Islam is Islam no longer."¹⁶ No one would make such a statement today who had even a passing acquaintance with the Islamic world. These people are on the march just as all others in Eastern countries, and what the end will be no one can say. This does not mean that there is not strenuous opposition to change. One of the strongest and most significant movements in the last century was that initiated by Mohammed Ibn Abdel-Wahhab, who as early as 1740 started a campaign to rid

¹⁵ The literature is very extensive, but see especially George Foot Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. II, pp. 509-519.

¹⁶ Vol. II, p. 229.

Islam of the innovations which even then had begun to show themselves. He was an Arab and saw Islam only as an Arab. He saw sacred shrines, richly ornamented tombs, prayers to saints, and luxury penetrating into the life of the people. All these were contrary to primitive Islam, and that was enough; the only thing for him to do was strenuously to resist every such tendency. It was a reform movement to restore the faith to its pristine purity. Wahhab was succeeded by his son Saoud, who was even more zealous. He captured the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and for nine years ruled from Mecca. A Turkish army was sent against him. He died during the war and was succeeded by his son, who was captured and publicly executed in Constantinople in 1818. As a political movement the Wahhabis had failed, but the effect of their reactionary, reforming zeal has continued through the decades and has come to life again since the World War. Ibn Saoud became the leader of the Wahhabi people, the reactionaries to be found throughout the peninsula, and became the ruler of all inland Arabia. This had been partially accomplished before the war, but since then all opposition has been put down and the Wahhabis are in complete control of Arabia. This bare sketch is introduced to show that the forces of reaction are solidly entrenched at the very heart of Islam. Not only in Arabia but elsewhere among Moslems these same tendencies are standing in the way of progress. There is in India "a full defense of historic Islam." They defend the Prophet in every detail of his life. They want no change whatever. Even polygamy is condoned, being looked upon as "the Moslem solution of the social evil."¹⁷ The seclusion of women is defended as "a protective device to save women from evil."¹⁸ The *Koran* is just what it purports to be—a direct revelation of divine truth to Mohammed, which is to be received and acted upon as final authority on all questions with which it deals.

¹⁷ Here and throughout this section indebtedness is acknowledged to two volumes: *The Expansion of Islam*, by W. W. Cash, and *Modern Tendencies in World Religions*, by C. S. Braden.

¹⁸ Cash, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

But Islam does change. One of the most striking events in Islamic history since the close of the World War is the abolition of the Caliphate, almost unbelievable to an orthodox Moslem and yet accomplished with little or no commotion over most of the Moslem world. We must glance back over the years to understand its meaning. For hundreds of years the Sultan of Turkey had also been the Caliph of the Moslem world, the spiritual head of all Moslems everywhere. He was the leader in what was known as the Pan-Islam Movement. Its purpose was to unite all Moslems in a solid movement against the West and all that it stood for. It was almost a nightmare to British and French and even Dutch colonial officials, who did not know when at any time the deep fires which were slumbering underneath the surface would flare out in revolt against foreign domination. But that has passed completely; it is not even a possibility now. The wave of intense nationalism which has been passing over the entire world since the Great War has been as effective in Islamic countries as in others, and the thought of a united Moslem world is no longer entertained. Nationalism in India, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, and even in the Dutch East Indies, is the supreme motive power back of all the thoughts which are driving men to action. As Doctor Cash puts it, this "has irreparably torn into fragments the enormous, heavy tapestry of Pan-Islamism."¹⁹

The movement was led by Turkey, which, under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, rose almost from the dead and established itself as an independent nation. It has stood for its rights against Europe, has driven the Greeks out of Asia Minor, and has developed a national life of vigor and great promise. The capital was moved from Constantinople (now called Istanbul) to the interior of Asia Minor, where the city of Angora (Ankara) is being made into a worthy capital of a virile people. Mustapha Kemal has definitely set his face westward, taking on all that he feels necessary to bring his country in line with the scientific achievements of Western nations. Almost inevitably

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 180.

this has led to the repudiation of much that has come down out of the past. In 1928 the relation between the State and Islam was severed. The most remarkable change, however, was the abolition of the Caliphate. This was done in 1924, and since that time the Prophet has had no Successor, though numerous claimants have arisen in various countries. Two conferences have been held, one in 1926, at the Al Azhar University in Cairo, and the other in 1928, called by the Wahhabi Chieftain, Ibn Saoud of Arabia, but nothing has materialized. The whole question is in abeyance. Indian Moslems have been deeply concerned by this action. They feel that the unity of Islam has been broken, but nothing has come out of it except local agitation. So Islam is not the same that it was before the World War.

The changes which have been taking place have been caused almost entirely by contact with the West. Some of them have been very radical. Attacks have been made on the ancient religious dogmas, the whole social system, and on the Prophet himself. This would indicate that irreligion is widespread in Islam as in other parts of the world. It has reached its extreme in Turkey, where the whole trend is secular. It has spread widely, however, and among young Moslems educated in the West or in contact with Western thought there is a turning away from the old faith. It is, of course, not a uniform movement. It embraces all degrees of reaction against the old beliefs and practices. There are those who hold a mediating position and attempt to rationalize what is not to their liking. Religion, so they say, even their Islam, is not to be looked on as static, but is subject to evolution. Among them is the highly cultured Syed Amir Ali, of India, who welcomes reason as an ally of Islam. He believes that the religion must be reinterpreted in the light of modern science. This is the attitude in the Mohammedan University of Aligarh in North India. Yes, they must go back to the *Koran*, but it is to be subjected to the acids of modern literary and historical criticism. There are those who are not adverse to the admission that there are blemishes even in the Sacred Book. It is a movement back to

Mohammed, but it is "an idealized figure of the Prophet" and not just the man who speaks and acts in the *Koran* and the Traditions. It still remains to be seen what will take place when views like these penetrate more deeply into the thinking of Moslems. So far as it has gone one thing is sure, that it has not made them more ready to accept another religion, particularly the religion of Christ. One of the forces in Egyptian Islamic life is the Young Men's Moslem Association, which, while paying the Young Men's Christian Association the high compliment of imitation, is increasingly strenuous in its opposition to the Christian missionary and his message.

This same combined attitude of reform and antagonism to Christianity characterizes the Ahmadiya Movement in India, founded in 1889 by Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who claimed to be a "heaven-sent prophet." It has not broken with Islam like the Bahai Movement, but, considering itself within the folds of true Mohammedanism, is very free in its modernized statements of belief and practice. It is publishing its own edition of the *Koran* with Commentary, and is earnest in definite missionary endeavor. Again it must be said that the Movement is too young to show what it can do and what will come of it in relation to orthodox Islam.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- The Koran*, translated by J. M. Rodwell (Everyman's Library). A convenient volume, with Suras arranged chronologically, and with notes on the text.
- H. U. W. Stanton, *The Teaching of the Qur'an* (London, 1919). A short summary with a full index.
- D. B. Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam* (New York, 1911). One of the best interpretations, by a master.
- George Foot Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. II, Chaps. XVI-XXII.
- W. Wilson Cash, *The Expansion of Islam* (London, 1928). Brings the story of Islam up to the present time.
- Charles S. Braden, *World Tendencies in World Religions* (New York, 1933), Chap. V. Twentieth Century Tendencies in Islam.

Tor Andrae, *Mohammed, the Man and His Faith* (London, 1936).

A translation from the Swedish; valuable, but to be used with caution.

Henri Lammens, *Islam, Beliefs and Institutions* (London, 1929).

Very valuable, by a Jesuit Missionary in Beyrout, Syria.

L. Bevan Jones, *The People of the Mosque* (London, 1932). A complete survey by a missionary in India.

CHAPTER XIII

CHRISTIANITY

JESUS CHRIST

LITTLE is known of the early life of Jesus Christ. Born a few years before the year 1 A. D. in Bethlehem of Judaea, he lived in Nazareth, a city of Galilee, until he was about thirty years of age. We have no reason to doubt the tradition that after the death of Joseph, the head of the family, Jesus became the main support of Mary and the younger children. He worked at his trade, that of a carpenter, and lived the life which would be expected of a religiously-minded young Hebrew. We have only one glimpse into his life and mind during all this period, and that was when Jesus was a boy of twelve. He went up with Joseph and Mary to Jerusalem to the feast of the Passover. Here he came into touch with the official teachers of the people and amazed them by his questions and his answers. He was not only religiously inclined but showed insight and discrimination beyond his years. Upon being questioned by his mother as to his reason for staying in the city and not starting with them on the homeward journey, Jesus seemed surprised that it had not occurred to them that the natural place for him to be was in his Father's house. He seemed already to show a sense of unique relationship with God, whom it was natural for him to call Father. With this beginning at twelve we may imagine the inner development and preparation for his life task which must have taken place during the subsequent eighteen "silent years" at Nazareth, before he appeared in a new rôle as a teacher of the people.¹

At about the age of thirty Jesus suddenly appeared at the Jordan, where John, a cousin of his, was performing the rite of baptism on those who came professing a desire to amend

¹ See T. R. Glover, *The Jesus of History*, for suggestive thoughts on these years.

their ways and live better lives. Jesus also came and, against the scruples of John, who saw that Jesus was in different case from the others, was baptized. It marked a turning-point, for with the outward ritual act came an inner spiritual experience of profound significance for Jesus. A voice assured him that he was in a unique sense his Father's "beloved Son," in whom he was "well pleased." It seems to have been the consummation of his thought and prayer and eager yearning for many years. He had received his revelation; he would proclaim God as a Father and men as his sons. He was filled with a sense of mission, of having a work to do and a message to deliver, which to the end of his life did not leave him for a moment. Immediately after this new experience Jesus passed through a period of "temptation," in which he decided upon the principles and the methods of his work in bringing in the kingdom of God. This was his God-given task; how was it to be performed? The Kingdom must be ushered in by a clear emphasis on the spiritual rather than the physical; by a firm reliance on God's goodness and power, which would make spectacular aims seem incongruous; and by such a singlehearted allegiance to God that compromise with evil and subservience to the lower standards represented by the evil one would be instantly repudiated. Having passed through this crisis, Jesus went out and for a period, variously estimated from one to three years, proclaimed the message of the new kingdom. The similarity of Jesus' experience and that of other religious founders is to be noted. Moses at the Burning Bush and Paul's vision on the Damascus Road are Biblical illustrations. It is impossible not to go farther and remember Gautama under the Bo-tree and Mohammed in the cave on Mt. Hira. In each case a profound religious experience preceded a life of service, and likewise in each case the message which each proclaimed during his entire ministry came to him in its essence and decisive meaning at that time. The men were very different, as were their messages, but they started out with a compelling experience which changed the entire course of their lives.

He went from place to place in Palestine preaching in the

synagogues and out-of-door places wherever the people congregated, and talking to individuals and to groups as they came to him with their questions and problems. He began to gather about him a little company of disciples, which soon grew to twelve and which accompanied him on all his journeys. He spent much time in giving them instruction and on several occasions sent them out to heal and to preach. Around this smaller and more intimate group a larger number, who had been attracted by the teacher and healer, gathered and evidently followed him as far as their other duties would allow. He spent much of his time in and about Galilee, though on several notable occasions he went to Jerusalem, the religious center of Jewish life, and there came into contact with the leaders of the people. But whether with individuals or large audiences, whether among friends or bitter opponents, Jesus preserved the same poise and self-control. He was always simple, candid, and sincere, and carried about with him such an atmosphere of quiet assurance that what he said always struck home, and caused men and women in spite of themselves to recognize his right to speak and be heard. His words carried their own authority and did not need the backing of quotations from rabbis and teachers and writings of recognized worth. He was heard with equal eagerness and understanding by the ignorant and learned, so simple and concrete were his words. Yet lurking behind these vivid stories, taken from the life all knew so well, were the most profound and fundamental truths, which the careless were quite likely to miss. Jesus frequently cast his thought into story form, that of the parable, partly for the very purpose of testing his hearers. It did not require high intellectual attainment to get his meaning, but moral sincerity was necessary to probe beneath the surface and find the hidden truth, which to the careless and the indifferent would mean little or nothing. At other times his thought took the form of epigrams, which among the peoples of the East are so dearly loved, and still again he would use the forms of the apocalyptic writers of his age. Whether all the imagery and all the predictions placed in the mouth of Jesus in the great apocalyptic dis-

courses were given out by him in just this form, or in a few cases at all, is an exceedingly difficult question. What we may feel sure of is that he was not only a preacher of assuring and comforting things, but could be as severe as the divine judgment itself in his denunciations of sin and unrighteousness, of hypocrisy and unreality in religion.

Jesus came to establish a kingdom, and this was the burden of his message. But he never forgot that the form of the Kingdom and many things connected with its coming were of lesser significance than the inner meaning and the principles on which it was based. The first of these was man's relationship with God. He had been called Father before, but never with the fullness of meaning which it carried after Jesus had by word and act shown what it meant. God is our Father, with all the tender love and unfailing strength which the term "Father" has taken on through Jesus' words and example of filial trust. And quite as much did the term take on new meaning through Jesus' example of compassion and solicitude over suffering and sinning men and women. It was a new revelation in the world, and has opened the eyes of men since that time to a new conception of the character of God, for nothing like that had ever been seen among men. He taught that this Father was ready and anxious to forgive all who came to him without respect to race or position in society or any other outward distinction. The condition of the heart was the only thing which mattered. The seriousness of the issues of life were not minified, and terrible things were spoken with respect to the fate of the obdurate, only it was never to be forgotten that men were always dealing with a Father whose compassion would never fail and who could save to the uttermost.

Jesus was not a social or political reformer. We cannot even tell what he felt and thought about certain questions which were agitating the men of his day, not to speak of all the movements with which his name has been connected from that time to this. Yet he laid down principles of the relations of man to man which have been revolutionary in the history of the world. He recognized none of the arbitrary distinctions which divide

men, and on the basis of his attitude a true democracy has been made possible. He did not explicitly condemn slavery, but men have only been made free where his example and his teaching have been made known. He did not inveigh against the forms of government which prevailed in his day, but all tyrannies and autocracies have had reason to fear when oppression and disregard of the rights of man have been seen in the light of his teaching. He did not proclaim a new social order, but the upheavals of the present day, which are shaking the very foundations of civilization, would never have come had it not been for the vision of all men and women possessing equal rights and opportunities which truly expresses the spirit of Jesus. Jesus was always ready to urge that his kingdom was spiritual, to be realized within the hearts of men, but the effect of such a conception has been to work its way out into all the relationships in which men find themselves and bring them into harmony with his ideals.

Jesus was not only a teacher; he was a worker of miracles. The Gospels tell us that he cured the sick, opened the eyes of the blind, fed the hungry, stilled the storm, and even raised the dead. Much was made of these wonders by former generations of Christians, who used them as proofs of the divine character of the One who performed them. Such use of these incidents does not produce the effect it once did and is being discarded. A closer study of the attitude of Jesus toward his own miraculous power clearly indicates that he minimized its significance. He would have men secure a better perspective and realize that moral power was on a higher level than the ability to work marvels. With this in view it scarcely seems congruous to use the miracles in a way which could scarcely be acceptable to Jesus himself. What they really do is to provide a window into the inner life of Jesus, and that presents a far more wonderful scene than merely the ability to do what others could not. It shows the heart of compassion which was beating in his breast, leading him to acts of mercy and kindness which involved the use of all the powers at his command. It was at the point of his unbounded compassion, which led him at times almost against

his better judgment to give of himself to relieve suffering and sorrow and want, that the great difference between Jesus and themselves must have become evident to his disciples. He *lived* vicariously—had it not been so, his death would never have assumed the significance it did for the disciples of that and all subsequent ages.

Jesus was living among sinning men and women and was constantly dealing with the malady at the root of human life. His analysis of character and his ability to read the inner motives of men give ample evidence of the deepest moral insight and concern. Yet with all this he was not conscious of sin in his own life and was not unwilling to throw out the challenge to anyone to lay his finger on any spot or blemish. "That a man should be able to state an ideal which goes beyond the possibility of the deepest ethical thinker to surpass is an achievement, but that this teacher should match his ideal with his life and should live it out so that the example is more beautiful than the precept, is to raise Jesus to an unapproachable pinnacle of excellence. We must use words which cannot be applied to any other of the sons of men. That was the impression he made then, and it is the same today. A unique event had taken place—a Being had trodden our earth of whom it could be said that he had not sinned. How to classify such an One has been the problem of problems in theology since his appearance.

But of all the impressions Jesus made the strongest was that he was in touch with God his Father and that this was the explanation of all the wonderful things about him. His prayer-life was so different from that of the disciples that they came asking him to teach them how to pray. He was with them day and night, and yet with all the closeness of the fellowship they realized that their Master had a companionship which was more real and vital to him. He lived in the presence of the eternal world and seemed perfectly at home. God was to him a personal Being with whom a life might be shared, not some power or indefinite being far off to whom we must send our prayers and who lives in a world so strange that he cannot enter

into the meaning of our mundane life. But this above all else is what men want to know: is there a Being at the center of the universe who cares? How can we be sure? In the presence of Jesus their questions were answered. In some marvelous manner their association with him carried them farther than they had thought possible. They began to realize that to be with Jesus gave them a sense of nearness to God, and this continued until these Jews, dyed-in-the-wool monotheists as they were, found themselves offering an homage to their Master which was little different from their attitude toward God, and were doing it with no sense of incongruity.

Jesus, however, was not only winning followers and bringing them close to God; he had come into collision with the religious authorities of his people, and in the end lost his life at their hands. They were formalists and as such had not averted the danger of losing sight of the vital principles of their religion. Jesus was an innovator, and felt free to act in accordance with the inner spirit of the old precepts even when by doing so he ran counter to the letter of the law. Jesus also failed to fulfill the popular expectation of what the expected Messiah should be, a military commander and king, who should lead the Jewish nation on to victory over the Roman Eagles and establish again the throne of David forever. In different ways Jesus jarred upon the sensibilities of the people and their leaders. He was not one with them either in their attitudes or expectations. As time elapsed and they became the more incensed the scribes and Pharisees set about deliberately to destroy him and put an end to his influence. The break had been coming for some time, especially over the use to be made of the Sabbath. When the leaders heard that he allowed his disciples to pluck corn as they passed through the fields and that he even healed a man on the Sabbath day, they were scandalized. The final opportunity came when Jesus appeared in Jerusalem at the feast of the Passover. He was seized and, after having had a preliminary hearing before the Jewish high priest and Sanhedrin, was taken before Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator, and was condemned to death. He was crucified, together with two

criminals, and died at the end of six hours' agony on the cross. His body was taken down by friends in the early evening and laid in a rock-hewn tomb. The hopes of his disciples were dashed to the ground, and undoubtedly the Jewish leaders and the Roman authorities thought they had rid themselves of an exceedingly troublesome creature.

But such was not to be, for a very remarkable thing happened the third day after. To the utter amazement of his disciples, who had not recovered from the paralyzing effect of their grief and disappointment, Jesus appeared to them so unmistakably that they were convinced that death had not been able to hold its victim and that Jesus was alive. Their new enthusiasm, the founding of the Christian Church on the assurance of the presence of the living Christ, the adoption of the first day of the week as a memorial of the day when Jesus reappeared alive—all these historic facts bear witness to the genuineness of the disciples' testimony that the same Jesus who had journeyed with them, who had died and had been laid away in the tomb, was raised from the dead, their living Master forevermore. They immediately went out to preach "the gospel of the resurrection," and with that the history of the Christian Church was begun.

DEVELOPMENT OF LIFE AND TEACHING

The earliest Christians were Jews. The only difference between them and the non-Christian Jews was that they believed that Jesus was the expected Messiah and the others did not. This little group felt it incumbent on them to observe the regulations and take part in the ceremonies of the Jewish faith. Coupled with this, of course, was their enthusiastic belief that Jesus was the Christ and that in him all the hopes and aspirations which had filled the minds of their people for hundreds of years were in process of being fulfilled. It was hard even for the disciples of Jesus to learn the lesson that it was a spiritual kingdom which was to be inaugurated and not a political kingdom, whose capital was to be in Jerusalem. There were these two aspects of the Messianic hope, one kingly and political and

the other spiritual and sacrificial, and even to this day the two are at times sadly confused. These early disciples took it for granted that the way to Christ was through the portals of Judaism. Already the idea of Gentiles becoming fellow religionists had become familiar through the inclusion of proselytes in the Jewish community. We have good evidence from the Bible and also from contemporary literature that many men and women in the empire had been won to the Jewish faith. By accepting the Old Testament and submitting to the ritual regulations they could become fully incorporated into the Jewish community. All this was well known to the early Christians, and it did not occur to them that Gentiles should come into their ranks in any other way. Let such men first become circumcised, then they would be eligible to church membership.

This rigid theory did not continue long without challenge. One of the most interesting developments which may be traced in the book of Acts is the movement toward greater liberality. Much is made of the conversion of Cornelius the centurion because he was a Roman, a "God-fearing man," who was baptized by Peter irrespective of his uncircumcised condition. It was looked upon as a most important step, only to be taken under the direct guidance of God's Spirit. But the really significant move occurred when Paul forced the issue and brought matters to a settlement in the Jerusalem council, described in Acts 15. He had become quite free in admitting Gentiles, and had arrived at the conviction that the new religion ought to stand in its own right and not remain in the leading strings of Judaism. Opposed to him were the "Judaizers," who contended that the obligation to become circumcised and obey the ceremonial law was as binding on the Christians as on the Jews. Paul brought the matter to the elders at Jerusalem, and after careful deliberation the momentous decision was reached that the Gentiles might be admitted to the Christian churches irrespective of any relation to Judaism. It was the first crisis through which the early Church passed. From this time it became independent, and the development which followed was that of its own genius, as the inner meaning of the new faith began to unfold

and the far-flung communities came into contact with the world of thought and action round about.

The Old Testament was the Bible of the early Christians. Only gradually were the books of the New Testament written and accepted by the churches. The New Testament presupposes the existence of a vigorous religious life, out of which the Gospels and letters arose. The words and acts of Jesus were handed down by word of mouth and were doubtless arranged in order for catechetical classes before they took shape as we have them now. Not for about two hundred years was the canon fixed, and even then certain books, like the Apocalypse, were looked on askance by certain sections of the Church. Many of the doctrines which were taught, like belief in the one God and the obligation of the moral law, were taken over from Judaism. More and more completely, however, the meaning of the revelation of Jesus Christ took possession of their minds and transformed even the old truths into something more living and real. He became the central fact of their faith and was raised to a place in their thinking commensurate with the place he occupied in their hearts and as dynamic in their daily living.

The second Christian century is one of the most obscure; we know little of the important changes which were taking place. We know that the churches came into contact with a movement or tendency called Gnosticism. These "Knowers" had doubtless been influenced by a philosophy of life emanating from Persia or even farther east. These ideas mingled with Greek theories, and a doctrine was developed according to which a fundamental cleavage ran right down through the universe, a cleavage not only between right and wrong, but even more fundamentally between spirit and matter. The two are separated by a chasm so deep and wide that it would seem almost hopeless to bridge it. Matter was looked upon as intrinsically and inevitably evil simply because it was matter. It could not be saved; it must be left behind if the spirit of man were to be emancipated. And it was just there the problem pressed—man was both spirit and matter. He sought to be free, yet was held

down as by an unsupportable burden by the flesh and its desires. The only hope was that by repudiating the flesh and by giving oneself to ascetic deprivations the body would have less and less hold and the spirit would be free to rise slowly through degrees of divine attainment to the plane of pure spirituality for which it longed. God, who was the very essence of spirit, was far distant from this earth. He created and sustains the processes of the material world through subservient beings, or emanations, which exist as a kind of heavenly hierarchy of varying grades, the lowest of which have actual contact with men and their affairs. This movement secured access to the Church itself and formed one or two sects, about which little is known. They wore themselves out in course of time without destroying the central stream of Christian life. The influence of the movement remained, however, in an ascetic attitude which has been far from wholesome in the Church. Continuing to believe that the body was inevitably corrupt and that its desires, particularly the sexual impulse, were evil and should be suppressed, a ban was put on marriage and celibacy was declared to be a higher state. In one section of Syria we are told that no one would be accepted for baptism who was living in the married state. This extreme was not followed farther west, but the tendency maintained itself in the "praise of virginity" and the enforced celibacy of monks and nuns and of the priesthood of the Church.

It was not long before the new faith came into contact with the most powerful intellectual weapon ever forged by the human mind—Greek thought. The origins of Christianity were Hebraic, its forms of thought and the method of presentation were derived from the Old Testament and the habit of mind of the Jewish people. But even before the new religion arose Judaism had come into contact with Greek thought, notably in the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria in Egypt. There lived and wrote at about the time of Christ the Jewish philosopher Philo, who was deeply tinctured with Greek learning. He made use of the conception of the *Logos*, the "word" or the "expression" of the distant God, a conception which was taken by the John of the fourth Gospel and used to convey one of the most pro-

found of the great Christian ideas. It was inevitable that Christianity too should sooner or later be influenced by the same powerful instrument, and be compelled to think out its doctrines anew. At the very center of the faith was Christ. He had saved men and women from their sins, he had given them the hope of everlasting life, he had furnished a new moral dynamic and had given history a new meaning—in all these respects what Christianity had to present was new and startling. Nothing like it had been known in the world of paganism. But a question began to press itself home among the more thoughtful as to the kind of being this Christ was. The discussion took many forms, but what to make of Christ, related both to God and man, was the burden of every argument. Jesus was a human being, that was quite evident from his life among men, but these Christian thinkers could not be satisfied to leave him there. He was man, but more than man. This might be easy enough to say, and would fit in well with the experience of the many followers of Jesus who had learned to associate him with God and to worship him, but it was quite a different thing when the attempt was made to form an exact statement in the terms of the dominant Greek philosophy.

How could a being be God and man at the same time? There were no human analogies to which appeal might be made. Two marked tendencies appeared, one to make Jesus Christ the highest of all the creatures God had made, far above any other being known in the universe, and yet a creature below the dignity of God himself. The other was to take the bold step of asserting that Jesus was truly man and at the same time truly God, that he was not a creature, but of the very essence of the Godhead, that he was as much a part of God as the Father himself. This is the meaning of the decision reached at the first general council of the Church held at Nicea in 325. Arius contended that Jesus was a created being, withal the very highest of God's creation, while Athanasius carried the council with him in asserting that Jesus was of the "same substance" with the Father, and as eternal Being had never been created at all. The Christian Church has gone with Athanasius. The

Christian doctrine of the Trinity has passed through many vicissitudes and may have many more crises yet to meet, but so long as men are brought into the presence of Christ and see in him their Saviour and Lord the problem will not down. Where shall such a being be placed, to do justice to the impress of the facts on eager men and women whose lives have been transformed by his touch? It cannot be among men, and if higher, where else than in the very being of God himself? And to do that means some form of the doctrine of the Trinity, for the doctrine of the Holy Spirit follows closely on that of the Christ. The final solution remains still to be discovered. It may be that it will never be solved to entire satisfaction, but that will not alter the situation—so long as lives are being made over in the image of Jesus Christ, so long will men insist upon lifting him up to the only level which will satisfy their sense of the eternal fitness of things.

All these discussions took place in the East, which was essentially metaphysical. The day of the West was not yet come, but it was gathering strength during the years and in the fourth and fifth centuries we come to the commanding figure of Augustine (354-430), the theologian of the Western Church. Now the West was the complete antithesis of the East; it was pre-eminently practical, concerned less about metaphysical distinctions than with problems of church organization. It accepted the doctrinal decisions of the four great orthodox councils as a matter of course; it knew how to submit to recognized authority. When it came to further developments, its genius was shown in the formulation of the practical doctrine of salvation, of God's grace in receiving sinners and placing them on a standing as citizens of the heavenly kingdom. This was the great work of Augustine, who, after a long experience in Italy, had become Bishop of Hippo in North Africa. Together with this unfolding of the doctrine of salvation another movement was in progress—that of building up the Church in theory and in practice as the representative of God on earth. According to Augustine man was a poor helpless creature, lost in sin and misery, until God should deign to take him and by his irresistible

grace put him on his feet and make him one of his elect children. So, when the Church came more and more to stand between God and men and claim possession of the only means—the sacraments—through which men could gain access to God, the power of the Church over the conscience and destiny of men became unbounded. This assertion of the Church of the right to dominate the life of men, individually and in every relationship even up to the high position of king and emperor, is the dominant note of the Middle Ages. The modern world could only be ushered in by breaking through the authority of the Church and setting free the mind of man from this bondage.

This is what the Renaissance and the Reformation did. They gathered into striking power the forces which had been developing for generations and proclaimed that man was free. What the Renaissance of the fifteenth century did for the intellect—and with many unfortunate features withal—that the Reformation in the next century, led by Martin Luther, accomplished for the conscience and the spiritual life. Its primary religious result was that it removed the Church from its position between God and man. It declared clearly and unhesitatingly that the soul of man stood immediately in the presence of its Maker and that it could have direct dealing with him without ceremonies or ritual or sacraments or priest. The Church had its place, but not as an essential mediator between men and God. It was fallible as the men who led it and composed it were fallible and had not the right to demand unquestioning obedience to its behests. So much the Reformation settled for all those who have entered into the heritage of its daring leaders. But having overturned the authority of the visible Church, it set up another authority in its place, that of the infallible Bible. Undoubtedly, all Protestants today recognize the right of the Scriptures to command their lives, provided, of course, they be given full right of interpretation. But the danger has been that the Bible should be made the final fact in Christianity. Protestants have been called the People of the Book, and this has been carried almost if not completely to the point of bibliola-

try. On the other hand, there are those who would not dim the luster of the Book nor diminish its rightful authority, but who at the same time see clearly that the revelation contained in the Book found its culmination in a Person. So Christianity, as its very name indicates, is in its truest sense the religion of a Person. In this it differs from both Judaism and Islam, which are far more truly religions of a Book and of obedience to its requirements. Christians *have* a Book, which is necessary to apprehend the Person, but the Person is primary, the climactic and distinguishing point in the religion.

One of the unfortunate results of the Reformation was the emphasis laid on orthodoxy. Men were to be saved by believing, but belief was defined, not in the Pauline sense of trust, but as an act of the intellect, accepting a set of propositions as true. On this basis the important thing is to believe the right doctrines, so doctrine-making became the occupation of the age, which lasted for a hundred years and more. The great confessions, which still are the creedal basis of our church life, came into being. But with all this insistence on correctness of belief the churches did not thrive. They were buried under the burden of being compelled to believe so exactly and so much in order to be saved. Orthodoxy was the *sine qua non*, and acceptance of doctrines covered a multitude of faults and even sins, which were more or less likely to be winked at provided men accepted the standards which were imposed. The real religious life of these long generations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and even the nineteenth lay in other directions. The Pietistic movement in Germany, beginning under Spener and Francke late in the seventeenth century, and the Evangelical Revival in England, under the lead of John Wesley and George Whitefield in the eighteenth, brought tens of thousands of the common people into an immediate experience of communion with God, which warmed their hearts and sent them out rejoicing to tell others the good news of God's forgiving love and the victory they were having over sin.

With this religious quickening came a new sense of social and

moral obligation. The emancipation of slaves, the reformation of the prison system, the beginnings of the Sunday-school movement, which was originally a school to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, but held on Sunday, and the founding of the great missionary societies, near the close of the eighteenth century and in the early decades of the nineteenth, form a fitting sequel to the stirring of a real religious life among the Protestant churches. Slow to appreciate the significance of social service, the churches have in recent years taken upon themselves in a new way the burden of humanity and have made a social creed a part of their working program. The work has only yet begun, but convictions are being born in the hearts of an increasing number each year that the Church can never fulfill its duty and be true to its Master without devoting itself to the task of making this world over again in all its relationships, that justice and love, mutual forbearance and respect, and an equal opportunity for all shall be the mark of our civilization.

And now again Christianity finds itself in the midst of an intellectual crisis. It has been in progress for a half century and more and no one as yet quite sees the way out. The doctrine of evolution, applied now to the social and historical sciences as well as to inanimate nature, and the methods of literary and historical criticism, whose sweep nothing escapes, have brought the intellect of the world face to face with the necessity of a new interpretation. It cannot be escaped. Should Christianity fail to use the opportunity to make a reappraisal of its documents and its doctrines in the light of the new methods and the new knowledge, its day will have passed. But this is just what Christianity has done in the past and what it shows vigorous signs of doing now. And when it shall have discovered the eternal and disengaged it from the changing and the temporary, and when it shall have learned to use with greater intelligence the instruments which are now being put into its hands, the religion of Jesus Christ will again lead the way into conquests of the mind and spirit greater than any in the years that have gone by.

THE CHURCH AND ITS EXPANSION

That Jesus did not undertake a mission without the borders of his own land is quite evident; that he did not contemplate an extension of his kingdom into all the world, as some would maintain, is contrary not only to definite sayings which have come down to us, but to his general attitude and outlook. He who saw "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them" at the very inception of his ministry, and He who was steeped in the message of the Old Testament prophets, some of whom include distant peoples as objects of God's care—such a One could scarcely fail to see a kingdom which would be as inclusive as the human race. And this may be held despite the fact that Jesus gave implicit instruction to his disciples, when he sent them out to preach and to heal, to go to none save the "lost sheep of the house of Israel," and despite the uncertain testimony of this or that saying whose meaning is not always easy to determine. Surely, the Gospel of John rightly interprets the inner meaning of Jesus' life and teaching when it shows him with his eyes fixed on the wide world, and tearing down Jewish as well as Samaritan pretensions in declaring that neither at Jerusalem nor yet on Mount Gerizim was the place where the Father should be worshiped. God is a Spirit, and all that is required is that he shall be worshiped "in spirit and truth," a condition which can be met by men and women of any race or nation. This declaration has been called the "Charter of Universal Worship."

The disciples in the earliest day failed to realize the outreach of Jesus' heart and mind. It remained for the imperial-minded Paul to catch the vision of the full sweep of his Master's kingdom. He made Christianity a world religion. In his own person he carried the gospel into the Greek world of Ephesus and Corinth and Athens, and was not satisfied until he had reached Rome. The whole motive of the book of Acts, according to Harnack, is to trace this advance, from a corner of the empire to the imperial capital itself. When once it was domiciled there, the new religion could claim to be in the full tide

of the world's life, and might rest assured that, given time, it would reach the farthest extremities of the imperial domain, for in a literal sense "All roads lead to Rome," and from Rome back again to the bounds of the empire. It took about three hundred years to accomplish this result. When Constantine, the ruler of the united empire, called the Council of Nicea in 325, Christianity had triumphed. For many years paganism lingered on, showing considerable strength where Christianity had not as yet penetrated deeply, but its doom was sealed. Constantine recognized that it was the one solid, dependable unity in his empire, and espoused its cause. Not that he was a devout man willing to bind his life by the moral restraints of the religion, but that he saw its worth and recognized that he must lean on it if he were to consolidate the gains which had come by his victories over his rivals.

During the three hundred years of its conflict Christianity had undergone a number of bitter and bloody persecutions. It had overcome the strenuous opposition of the Eastern cults, like Mithraism, which for a time had spread like wildfire, and it had given ample demonstration of an inner power which was possessed by no other religion and which carried it on to almost inevitable victory. Its works of mercy and help, which were like balm in a sorely tried world, its strenuous insistence on the acceptance of a new moral standard, unknown before and scoffed at by a degenerate race of pleasure-seekers, the deliverance which it promised to men and women held in bondage by vicious habits and to those who were longing after spiritual freedom, gave the religion of Jesus a leverage which enabled it to accomplish wonders in that Roman world. Not that all was at peace within. Different standards prevailed, heresy began to show its head, and leaders were advancing theories and recommending practices which did not command the approval of others and which at times sadly rent the fabric of church life. But what is clear is that the testimony of the Church to the leadership of a living Christ and the presence of the Spirit within was made good, and men began to see that

what the Christians professed was not a cunningly devised fable but a new power.

The adoption of the Church by Constantine was a remarkable testimony to the presence of a new force in the Western world, with which no other could be compared. What happened in the decades which followed, when the recently persecuted faith was not only released from the dangers which had constantly hung over it, but was placed in the position of favor and of authority, is not pleasant reading. In order to win the more readily the many pagans who still were to be found and to make itself less forbidding to the elite and the cultured in the cities and at court, the Church lowered its standards, and suffered immeasurably in its inner spirit and life. Its opposition to the loose living which prevailed everywhere was not so genuine, and the admission of pagan practices and rites into the Church contaminated the purity of its testimony. Thus saint and image-worship took the place of the old polytheism and idolatry, and various rites which were introduced had a most suspicious likeness to old heathen ceremonies. The Church had conquered the world in outward and formal acquiescence, but the world had infected the Church with its pagan spirit. Undoubtedly, much of this took place unconsciously and very gradually, but the influence was just as real. The Church had become a great compact organization, under the theory of the monarchical episcopacy, and this meant that it could not but act in the manner of such an organization. Political expediency overbalanced all other considerations and made of the Church a great worldly power seeking by all means to retain its ascendancy. And when the unity of the Church, particularly in the West, was assured by the rise of the bishop of Rome to a place of commanding power, its future could no longer be in doubt, and this was true despite the barbarian inroads which threatened to engulf the old civilization in their irresistible advance. The Church which centered in Rome was the one immovable rock in the welter of upheaval and change. It held its own until the world settled down again, and, with all our criticism and condemnation of irregularity and abuse, it must be credited with

saving the day for Christianity in a time when the very foundations seemed to be crumbling.

During the Middle Ages the Church succeeded in winning the peoples of Northern Europe. The Kelts in France and the British Isles, the Teutonic peoples who flooded westward on the track of the retreating Kelts, the Slavs of Central and Eastern Europe were all reached in turn. From the beginnings, when Ulfilas preached to the Goths in the region north of Constantinople and Martin of Tours was doing his apostolic work in France in the fourth century, until the Lithuanians finally accepted the faith in the fifteenth is a period of more than a thousand years. The really intensive work was accomplished, however, in about half that time, from Pope Gregory I, the "Great" (590-604), to Gregory VII, Hildebrand (1073-1085). During that period the northern countries swarmed with monks. With a zeal which has never been surpassed these ardent servants of the Church went to every tribe, and at the end of their labors there were none left who did not acknowledge Jesus as Lord and count themselves members of the Catholic Church. The annals of Christian devotion would be lacking some of the most illustrious examples were it not for Patrick of Ireland, Columba of Iona, Augustine of Kent, Boniface of Thuringia, Anskar of the far frozen north, and many scores of others, who in the name of Christ counted not their lives dear unto themselves, but in utter self-abandonment went to the most inaccessible islands and the most hostile peoples to tell them the message which had taken possession of their own souls. They have left a priceless heritage of courage and devotion which no criticism of their methods can dim.

The net result of their labors was that Northern Europe was completely won to the Church and to at least nominal acceptance of its Christ. Unfortunately, it was so frequently only a nominal acceptance that vital religion seems never to have come to its own among large parts of the population. With little training before baptism and with no adequate instruction in the years which followed, the people remained in ignorance of the true meaning of Christianity. Pagan practices were not

uprooted and attendance at the services and the performance of the prescribed rites and ceremonies meant little more to a vast majority than the practices they had left behind, except that they were grander and more impressive and carried with them the surer promise of favor with God and of the life beyond. With ignorance almost unchecked and loose living tardily rebuked, especially among the powerful, the conditions left much to be desired. The Church was strong, so strong that the people were held in terror of the penalties which it could inflict, and even emperors were cowed into submission. The Middle Ages present strange contrasts. There was saintly devotion unsurpassed. Saint Francis of Assisi is a shining example, for Protestants as well as Roman Catholics. It was an age of cathedral building, and we visit these buildings and wonder not only at the skill of the builders but the religious devotion of those responsible for their construction. A succession of scholars kept alive the tradition of learning and there appeared several of the most noted thinkers of the Western world. Even today there is a revival of Thomism, the religious philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, the "Blessed Thomas," one of the keenest minds in the history of Christian thought. But in spite of all this the power of the Church was abused and the bondage in which the minds of men were held must be broken before a new age could be ushered in.

When the great liberation came in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a new expansion might well be looked for. A new world had been laid before the wondering gaze of Europe by the discovery of the Americas and by the finding of the sea route to India and the East. For hundreds of years, particularly since the crusades, Islam had stood as a barrier between West and East. Europe knew little of the teeming populations beyond and had strange ideas of their condition. But now the veil of mystery was removed and new empires were to be founded by the youthful European nations in far-off seas. The Roman Catholic Church at once took advantage of the splendid opportunity and sent its missionaries east and west. The daring Jesuits, followed by other orders, went through incredible hard-

ships to carry their message to Canada, South America, and to India, China, and Japan. Strange to say, Protestantism did not respond. Her task was an arduous one, to conserve the results of the upheaval in Europe, but, even more than that, her mind was occupied with the making of creeds, and was more or less blinded by impossible methods of interpretation, which led to the conclusion that there was no longer a call to the Church to undertake a mission to the heathen. That had been done by the original apostles, and if the nations were not now Christian, that was their own fault! This was not, of course, the view of all the Protestant leaders, but at best there was very little accomplished in carrying the message of Christ to the pagan world for a hundred years and more.

But the Pietistic movement in Germany and the Evangelical Revival in England stirred the hearts of men and led to earnest questioning concerning the non-Christian world and to the conviction that the gospel must be carried where it was not known. At the end of the eighteenth century, under the leadership of William Carey and his associates, action was taken, first by the Baptists, then by other bodies both within and outside the Established Church, until on both sides of the Atlantic and on the Continent of Europe Protestantism was taking seriously the task of evangelizing the whole world. This has been one of the chief notes of church life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In various conferences the denominations have met to counsel and plan their work together. The culminating point was reached before the World War in the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910. Here for the first time all Protestantism was represented and by union in prayer and praise and in loyalty to a common Lord, reaffirmed its essential union in faith and purpose, thus giving practical expression to the growing desire that all should be one. The new consciousness of solidarity as they faced a common task seemed to many to be the harbinger of a new day, when the unhappy divisions among God's people shall be healed and they shall veritably advance "like a mighty army." So strong was the impression made by this gathering that Professor A. E.

Garvie, of London, made bold to declare that the Edinburgh Conference might prove to be of greater significance to the highest interests of the Church than the Council of Nicea!

CHRISTIANITY SINCE THE WORLD WAR

The situation has changed completely in every part of the Christian world since the soldiers returned from the World War. That conflict had shaken our civilization to its very foundations, and conditions could never be the same again. For one thing, the war revealed how slight a hold religion had on great numbers of men and women who were supposed to be within the bounds of the Christian Church or at least under its influence. They were found to be religious illiterates, knowing little of and caring less for the teachings of Christianity. This alienation had been taking place for a long period before the fateful years 1914-1918, but it was made apparent that the undermining had proceeded very much farther than had been thought possible. The Church found itself confronting a population pagan in many of its attitudes and practices. There was, especially for a few years, a serious decline in moral standards, not only in respect of sex relations but at every point where Christian teaching ran counter to the natural tendencies of human nature. An orgy of luxury and spending beyond anything known in the past swept over the Western world. Even churches felt its influence. Church buildings were erected far beyond the means of their congregations, which were plunged into serious and even compromising debt as they vied with each other to erect structures which would befit the importance of their own local church and the denomination to which it belonged. Other motives, nobler and more worthy, of course played their part but the Church was undoubtedly tainted with the same unreasonable desire to make the brave display which infected society at large.

It seemed that the tide had set in definitely against religion. Science was invoked to bring in a new world through inventions and the application of technology to all aspects of human life. The story is nothing less than marvelous. The de-

velopment of the automobile and the aeroplane, the almost universal use of the radio, the rapid coming of air-conditioning not only into public buildings and railroad coaches but into the home—these are only well-known illustrations of the application of science to human life, and the end is not yet. We can only rejoice at the advance, which is proving of incalculable benefit to humanity. Attention is called to this remarkable development here because the great success of scientific discovery and invention has had one serious effect. It has led many to conclude that all the problems of human life can be solved by science and human ingenuity alone without any relation to or sense of dependence on spiritual forces. That is, God is ruled out of his world and out of the minds of men as unnecessary, as a hang-over from a time when man had not as yet learned his own power. Now that man had come to his own he could dispense with the crude notions of his forefathers and get along alone. This attitude is widespread. It has even penetrated the thinking of those in the Church who, styling themselves humanists, desire to hold fast the ethical idealism which has come to them out of the Christian movement, but who believe this can be done with no sense of human limitation and dependence on God. In fact there is no God in any sense which gives the concept vital meaning.

This movement had its most significant manifestation in Russia. Here, after centuries of oppression under arbitrary and dictatorial Tzars who were aided and abetted at every point by a reactionary Church, the Communistic Revolution in 1917 under Nicholai Lenin brought in a new social, economic, and political order. It has affected every phase of life but at no point more drastically than in religion. It was an atheistic movement. Religion was declared to be an opiate, making the masses insensible to the oppression in which they were held. Every scientific device which had been found effective in any part of the world was to be introduced, but religion was proscribed. So now for over twenty years the Bolsheviki, or Extremists, have been in control. Lenin himself died in 1924 but the task was immediately taken up by Joseph Stalin, who with

his associates in the Communist Party continues the same policy. What the end will be it is not possible to predict. With all that has been done there still exists a genuine religious life in Russia, and indications are that there is an actual resurgence of devotion to the God of their fathers, not very strong as yet, but giving promise of a widespread revival if the restrictions should be to any degree relaxed. In the meantime, however, every effort is being put forth to eradicate religion. Almost no activity is permitted to priests and ministers. Education is used to make religion seem unnecessary and even ridiculous. Young people in their various organizations are being led away from the superstitions and ignorance of their parents, that is, those who have still retained a favorable attitude toward religion or practice religion in their homes. Never was such a thorough-going campaign ever waged, even in the days of persecution in the Roman Empire, to extirpate the Christian religion—any religion, in fact. One of the results has been the disrupting of Christendom, the Christian world, the world of nations which continued until recently to own a nominal allegiance to the Church and to the principles of the Christian religion. It was a very hazy and tenuous connection in many cases, frequently bringing great discredit to Christianity by unchristian and grossly selfish attitudes both within their own boundaries and in their relations to neighbor countries. The history of Western Europe is one long illustration of these unholy machinations. It may be that the true life of the Christian religion will be liberated instead of curbed by the disruption of these ties, but for the time being we are compelled to face as we never have before the deceptiveness of nominal allegiance and the spiritual destitution of much that went by the name Christian.

Still another movement is causing the Christian world the deepest concern. It is the relation of the Church and the State. The story of this relation and the various forms it has taken cannot be related here.² Attention must be called, however, to

² See William Adams Brown, *Church and State in Contemporary America* (1936), and Nils Ehrenstrom, *Christian Faith and the Modern State* (1937).

the problem which has been created, one particular recent development of which has deep significance for the Christian Church and its future in human society. It is the theory of the Totalitarian State, which is spreading rapidly among the nations and is endangering the freedom without which the Church cannot live and do its work in the world. What is this theory? I quote from Dr. J. H. Oldham, "The totalitarian state is a state which lays claim to man in the totality of his being; which declares its own authority to be the source of all authority; which refuses to recognize the independence in their own sphere of religion, culture, education, and the family; which seeks to impose on all its citizens a particular philosophy of life; and which sets out to create by means of all the agencies of public information and education a particular type of man in accordance with its own understanding of the meaning and end of man's existence." And then he adds, "A state which advances such claims declares itself to be not only a state but also a Church."³ It has had its chief development in Germany where under the Third Reich Adolph Hitler and his Nazi chiefs have taken complete control and have gone so far as to attempt to coerce the Christian Church, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. It is the most radical form of nationalism, one which cannot brook any interference, even from religion. In fact, it is unalterably opposed to any form of religion which does not recognize that national sovereignty is the final and authoritative factor in human affairs. Anything which savors of universalism or internationalism is under the ban. It is only satisfied with a religion which is strictly "tribal," in the sense that all outsiders are aliens and are not to be considered within "the household of faith." There are those who accept the logic of the situation and see that Christianity is incompatible with this nationalism. They talk of Woden and Thor, the chief deities of Teutonic paganism, as the only gods adequate for "Aryans," as the Germans call themselves today. It is in reality a return to paganism. Those who are not willing to follow Nazi direc-

³ *Church, Community and State, a World Issue* (1935). A valuable pamphlet which in short compass presents the problem.

tion are vigorously opposed and even persecuted. We are now (1938) in the midst of this conflict, with the government in opposition to the church leaders who are not willing to compromise their faith and water down the universalism of Christianity to the narrow limits of a nationalism. What the end will be cannot be predicted. But undoubtedly there will be a "faithful remnant" who will not bow the knee to the modern Baal of Aryanism and Naziism.

The same situation, with differences in both direction and degree, is to be found in Italy and Japan. It crops up, however, in other countries, wherever there exists the threat to suppress the freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and speech, and freedom of conscience on any social, economic, political, or religious question. It strikes directly at the heart of the Christian Church, which cannot exist and do its work without independence and freedom to speak out its convictions, however they may differ from current opinions. It must proclaim its message, even though it may be in opposition to the behest of the State or the demands of any group who are made uncomfortable by the searching scrutiny of moral leaders who condemn unchristian attitudes and practices. Never since the earliest day when the Church was struggling to exist and gain a foothold in spite of ridicule and persecution has Christianity ever faced so serious a crisis. Its God is set aside in Russia, its universalism is scorned in Germany, and its freedom is in danger in many countries. It is a life-and-death struggle, dealing with the very fundamentals of its gospel and driving it back on its spiritual resources as nothing else in the course of its long history.

The Church staggered and reeled under the impact. It was bewildered and confused. What had taken place was so new and unprecedented. The Church had never been compelled to face such a situation before, and it has taken some time to recover and know where it stood and what it had to do. Unfortunately, the Church was very much divided, both in thought and practice. There was the division in the Protestant world between the conservatives (Fundamentalists as they were called

in America), who clung to old ideas and interpretations, especially with respect to the Christian Scriptures, and the liberals (Modernists), who felt that the only method of saving the faith was to accept the findings of science and apply them to the understanding of life and religion. The controversy was and still remains sharp and even acrimonious, though there is coming to be a realization that in face of the onslaught of irreligion it is high time to lay aside bickerings on lesser points and unite in combating the real enemy of all religion, the spirit of secularism which is so widely abroad in the world. But beyond this there was another cleavage, that between those who stood for the "individual" gospel and those who were convinced that Christianity could not be preached with any completeness without emphasis on the "social" gospel. The tension between the two continues to harass the Church in Britain and America. On the Continent it is somewhat different. American "Activism" is looked at more or less askance, the leaders there confining their attention far more to the strictly theological and individual aspects of the faith and less to the social implications of the gospel message. In fact, a theological movement has been sweeping over Protestantism on the European Continent (and to a far lesser extent in Britain and America) which reflects the postwar attitude of despair and recognition of man's sin and helplessness. Karl Barth, a Swiss pastor and theologian, has started a very important movement which lays great stress on God's absolute sovereignty and man's inability to do anything for himself. These movements and tendencies can only be mentioned here, but they are of great importance and show the difficulties faced by Protestantism in securing the unity necessary to make an impact which will count on its foes and detractors.

And in addition to these unfortunate features is the division between churches which are far apart and find it difficult if not impossible to unite either organically or for concerted action. There is the historic attitude of the Roman Catholic Church, which claims to be the one Holy Apostolic Church and with which other churches can unite only by absorption, by acknowl-

edging the supremacy of the Pope and submitting to his authority. There is the Orthodox Greek Church, also claiming that it is Apostolic and Catholic, the one true Church of Christ. And there is Protestantism, rejecting the claims of both these ancient churches but weakened in her testimony by being divided and subdivided into many denominations, a number of which are strong and influential but many of which are very small and narrow and intolerant. Between these denominations and Catholicism, Roman and Greek, stands the Anglican Communion (the Church of England in that country and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States), strong and very influential, partaking of features both of Catholicism and Protestantism to such an extent that some of its leaders have called it the bridge between the two.

The most favorable sign is that the leaders of all branches of the Church are rapidly becoming aware of the seriousness of the problems and are resolutely setting themselves to meet them. Under the inspiration of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910 a series of significant conferences have been held which in an unprecedented way have made an appeal to every branch of the Christian Church. Exception must be made of the Roman Church, which by its very constitution cannot take part in any such conference on the basis of equality. Fortunately, the Greek Church, or the Orthodox, as they call themselves, has laid aside its exclusiveness and has been willing to enter into the most friendly relations with "their brethren who represent other Churches of Christ," as one of their trusted leaders phrased it at Edinburgh in 1937. The first of these conferences was held in Stockholm in 1925, under the Universal Christian Council on Life and Work, at which the problems which the churches are facing in the world of today were for the first time frankly discussed together. This was followed twelve years after by the Oxford Conference (1937) on Church, Community, and State, where a much more thorough discussion was had and where in a manner unknown before the Christian Church found a united voice to speak out its message

on the social, economic, and political as well as religious problems of the day.

But this was not all. The "unhappy divisions" of the Church were leading churchmen to examine the causes of their differences and to resolve deeply to start the churches on the way to unity. The first World Conference on Faith and Order was held in Lausanne in 1927 under the inspiring leadership of Bishop Charles H. Brent, of the American Protestant Episcopal Church. It was a new kind of conference, a real adventure. Not much progress was made, but men of various churches came together and frankly discussed their agreements and their differences, and this was a step toward unity. This conference was in turn followed by the Edinburgh Conference in 1937, where there was even franker discussion and even more realistic facing of the causes of disunity. The way was seen to be a long and thorny one, but one which must be taken no matter what the cost. An affirmation of unity was adopted at the close which is a revealing statement. The representatives of the churches found they were in agreement at so many points which were fundamental that they were greatly encouraged as they looked forward to the achievement of complete unity. But there was a serious obstacle, the doctrine of the Church itself, with the closely related doctrines of the ministry and the sacraments. It stood as a kind of irremovable bar to the unity which all desired so earnestly and which from other avenues of approach seemed so easy of achievement. They all believe in the one God, are in allegiance to the one Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, hold to the Church as a divine institution, but cannot come together in the communion of the Lord's Supper—and hence are miles apart in spite of their deep and far-reaching agreements. This is a sobering consideration, not to be set aside, but church leaders are calmly setting their faces to let nothing deflect them as they move steadily toward ultimate unity.

There is another movement of the highest significance which is full of hope and encouragement. The churches on the mission field are coming to their maturity and are rightly demand-

ing a voice in the counsels of the Church universal. The Edinburgh Conference in 1910, to which reference has already been made, marked a turning point. There were very few nationals there from the various mission lands. It was really a conference of the sending countries and churches. Again the rapid shifting of the scene can best be seen as registered in another conference that was held in Jerusalem in 1928. The very location of the conference had significance. It was held in the city where the central deed of Christianity was enacted in the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, but also in a city which lies between the West and the East. It indicated that the gathering belonged as much to the Oriental as to the Occidental, and the equal division of delegates between the various sections was a testimony to that fact. And now in December, 1938, still another conference is projected, this time to meet in the Orient itself. It was planned at first to be held in Hangchow, China, but the dreadful conditions in that war-torn country made it impossible, so that it is to be held in Madras, India. Christianity has not only become indigenous to the countries where missionaries have carried the message of Christ, but churches are being built up, more and more manned and led by Christians belonging to those countries, which are vigorous and strong and which may be looked to in years to come to make a needed contribution to the life of the entire Church, East and West.

The Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences were held one directly after the other and not far distant from each other. It was planned thus for a purpose. One stood for Life and Work and the other for Faith and Order. One surveyed the task confronting the Church, the other faced the problem of unity, without which the Church could not fulfill its mission. The two movements really belong together. Out of these conferences have come the beginnings of a World Council of Churches. A provisional conference was held at Utrecht, Holland, in May, 1938. A constitution was adopted to be submitted to the various churches for ratification. Interim arrangements were made to hold during the period of organization. It is recognized that it is only a beginning, but it may prove to be the beginning of

one of the most important steps the Christian Church has ever taken. It will enable the churches to speak their common mind and sponsor movements toward corporate action on important issues. It will also be able to clear the way toward unity in every part of the world. What has already been accomplished is full of promise—the task has been set, the difficulties frankly faced, the resources gauged, and the goal defined. With humility because of its failures the Church may face the future with confidence, born of the assurance that it is the Church of the Living God and that it is his will to bring in the Kingdom so long promised in his own good time. It is ours to fulfill the conditions and be faithful to our trust; it is his to give the increase and bring in the day when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Edwyn Bevan, *Christianity* (Home University Library) (London, 1932). Exceedingly valuable short manual of the entire history of Christian development.

William Temple, *Nature, Man and God* (London and New York, 1934). A massive presentation of the Christian view by one of the greatest leaders in the Church of England.

Nathan Söderblom, *The Living God* (London, 1933). This volume by the Archbishop of Sweden, while presenting other religions, gives a glowing account of the meaning of Christianity.

The Abingdon Bible Commentary (New York, 1929). Probably the best of the one-volume commentaries on the Christian Scriptures, presented from the modern viewpoint.

Ernest F. Scott, *The Ethical Teaching of Jesus* (New York, 1924). A small and discriminating volume of great value.

Edwin E. Aubrey, *Present Theological Tendencies* (New York, 1936). Gives in short compass the present condition of theological thought in the Protestant world.

F. Ernest Johnson, *The Church and Society* (New York, 1935). A valuable short account of the development of the social gospel and its place in the Christian program.

William Adams Brown, *The Church, Catholic and Protestant* (New York, 1935). Very valuable in the present stage of relations between the churches themselves and the churches with the State.

The Churches Survey Their Task. J. H. Oldham, editor (London and Chicago, 1937). The report of the Oxford Conference on Life and Work, 1937.

The Second World Conference on Faith and Order. Leonard Hodgson, editor (London and New York, 1938). The report of the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order, 1937.

INDEX

- Abbasid Caliphs, 306
 Abdallah, 287
 Abdui Baha, 312
 Abeona, 133
 Abraham, 267, 281, 294, 302
 Absolute, in India, 173
 Abu Bakr, 291, 293, 306
 Abu Talib, 287, 292
 Abydos, 98
 Abyssinia, 291
 Achaemenides, 155
 Activism, American, 345
 Acts, Book of, 326, 334
 Adad, 111
 Adam, 302
 Adeona, 133
 Adi-Buddha, 213
 Aeschylus, 128
 Afghanistan, 308
 Africa, Islam in, 309
 Agni, 165f.
 Agreement (Ijma), in Islam, 298f.
 Ahmad (Mohammed), 287
 Ahmad, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam, 316
 Ahmadiya Movement in India, 316
 Ahura Mazda (Mazdah), 145, 151ff.
 Ainu, 57
 Akhetaten, 101
 Akkadians, 109
 Al Amin, 287
 Al-Ashari, 303
 Alexander the Great, in Egypt, 95, 103; in India, 209
 Alexandria, 328
 Al-Ghazzali, 305
 Algonquin family of Indians, 63
 Ali, 288, 291, 306, 311
 Aligarh University, 315
 Ali Mohammed, the Bab, 312
 Allah, 286, 291; attributes of, 302f.; power of, 303f.; not a father, 304
 Allenby, General, captures Jerusalem, 274
 All-Fathers, in animistic religion, 40
 Almsgiving, in Islam, 300f.
 Amaterasu-o-mi-Kami, 248, 251
 262
 Amen, 98, 100ff.
 Amenhotep IV, 101f.
 Amen-Ra, 97, 100, 102
 Ameretat, 152
 Ames, E. S., definition of religion, 30
 Amesha Spenta, 152, 154, 156
 Amir Ali, Syed, 315
 Amitabha (Amida), 218, 220, 242, 255, 257f.
 Amorites, 109, 267
 Amos, 273
 Anahita, 157
 Analogy (Qias), in Islam, 299
 Ananda, 199
 Ancestor worship, as origin of religion, 44; among animists, 67f.; in China, 226ff.; in Japan, 247f.; among Semites, 270
 Andaman Islanders, 72
 Andrae, Tor, on date of Mohammed, 287; on inspiration of Mohammed, 292f.
 Anglican Communion, 346
 Anglo-Saxons, 146
 Angora (Ankara), in Turkey, 314
 Angra Mainyu (Ahriman), 153, 156
 Animal-worship, in animism, 66f.; in Egypt, 96f.
 Animism, in Babylonia, 110; in Greece, 118f.; in lands of Southern Buddhism, 216f.; in China, 225f.
 Animistic peoples, numbers and location, 56ff.
 Animistic religion, name of, 55; why studied, 55f.
 Annam, 216
 Anskar, 337
 Anthropomorphism, in Greece, 121
 Anti-Semitism, 275
 Anu, 111
 Ao Naga tribe in Assam, 58f.
 Aphrodite, 122, 138
 Apis, 96
 Apollo, 122

- Arabia, 313; tribes of, 267; cradle of Semitic race, 267; religion in, before Islam, 286
- Arabic, language of Koran, 297
- Arabs, 109
- Arafat, Mount, 301
- Aramaeans, 267
- Aramaic, 278
- Aramaiti, 152
- Aranyakas, 171
- Architecture, in Egypt, 103f.
- Ares, 122, 138
- Arhat (Arahat, Arahant), 204, 206, 213f.
- Aristotle, 129, 280
- Arius, 329
- Ark of the Covenant, 272
- Armenian Church, 307
- Armenians, 146
- Arnold, Matthew, definition of religion, 28
- Arpachshad, 267
- Artemis, 122
- Arval brothers, 135
- Arya Samaj, 189f.
- Aryans, 146, 148; in India, 163, 170, 192
- Asceticism, of the Buddha, 195
- Asha, 152
- Ashur, 111
- Asia Minor, 141, 308
- Asoka, 209
- Assam, 58
- Asshur, 109
- Assurbanipal, 109, 112
- Assyrian Empire, 109, 111
- Assyrians, 267
- Astrology, in Babylonia, 113f.; in Rome, 142
- Atargatis, 142
- Aten, 101f.
- Athanasius, 329
- Atharvaveda, 169
- Athena, 119, 122, 138
- Athens, 119, 334
- Atman, 172
- Attalus, 140
- Attis, 141
- Augustine, 330
- Augustine of Kent, 337
- Augustus Caesar, 139ff.
- Austerities, in India, 173
- Australia, 58
- Avalokitesvara (Avalokita, Padmapani), 218, 257
- Avatars, of Vishnu, 183
- Avesta, 152, 157, 159
- Ba (Bai), 105
- Baal worship, 273
- Bab, 312
- Babylon, 109ff.
- Babylonian captivity, 275
- Bagdad, 306, 308
- Bahaism (Babism), 311f.
- Bahauallah, 312
- Bain, Alexander, on instinct, 36
- Bali, 216
- Baluchistan, 308
- Bantu tribes, 57
- Baptism of Jesus, 319
- Barth, A., on Varuna, 165; on avatars, 183
- Barth, Karl, 345
- Bel, 112
- Benares, 192
- Bengal, 192
- Berdyaev, Nicholas, on Communism as a religion, 32f.
- Besant, Mrs. Annie, 188f.
- Bethlehem, 318
- Bhabha, H. T., on Parsi belief, 161
- Bhagavadgita (Gita), 190
- Bhakti, 184, 257
- Bhikshus, 208f.
- Bhils, 57
- Bible, in Koran, 302; in Protestantism, 331f.
- Bodhidharma, 219f., 241
- Bodhisattva, 214; in Tibet, 218; in Japan, 251, 257
- Boloki tribe, 80
- Bolshiviki, Extremists, 341
- Bombay, 158f.
- Boniface, 337
- Book of the Dead, 105
- Borneo, 57
- Bo-tree, 197
- Brahma, creator, 182
- Brahman, absolute, 172ff., 182
- Brahmanas, 169, 171
- Brahmins, priests, 168, 177, 179
- Brahmo Samaj, 189
- Brent, Charles H., 347
- Bridge of the Separator, 154
- British Rule, in India, 187
- Brown, Lewis, on origin of religion, 38
- Bucer, Martin, attitude toward Jews, 22

- Buddha, significance of title, 192, 196; life of, 192ff.; attainment of Nirvana, 196; chronology of life, 198; death of, 199; teaching of, 201ff.
- Buddhas of Contemplation (Dhyani Buddhas), 213, 257
- Buddhism, 168; disappearance in India, 181, 210; monks and nuns in, 207ff.
- Budge, Ernest, on Amenhotep IV, 102
- Bull-roarer rite, 73
- Burma, Buddhism in, 212, 215, 217
- Bushido, 262f.
- Caliphate, since World War, 314f.
- Caliphs, 291; orthodox, 306
- Cambodia, 216
- Canaan, Sons of, 267
- Canaanites, 109, 267, 272
- Carey, William, 339
- Caro, Joseph, 278
- Carter, J. B., on Etruscan influence, 136; on Sibylline books, 137
- Casartelli, L. C., on Zoroaster's date, 149
- Cash, W. Wilson, on seclusion of women in Islam, 313
- Caste, defined, 176; origin of, 179; good and evil in, 180; in Arya Samaj, 190
- Cat, worshiped in Egypt, 96
- Cathedral building in Middle Ages, 338
- Cave, Sydney, on Siva worship, 184
- Celibacy, in early Christian church, 328
- Celsus, on Egyptian religion, 96, 98
- Central Asia, Islam in, 309
- Ceres, 137
- Ceylon, Buddhism in, 212, 215, 217
- Chaldea, 109f.
- Chaldeans, 267
- Chang Tao-ling, 239
- Ch'an tsung school of Buddhism, 241
- Chao dynasty, 230, 237
- Charles Martel, 306
- Child marriage, in India, 178
- China, ancestor worship in, 226; Buddhism in, 219f.
- Chin dynasty, 230
- Chiol, Sir Valentine, on Indian unrest, 16
- Christendom, disrupted, 342
- Chthonian gods, 123
- Church, Christian, 336; Roman Catholic doctrine of, 331; Protestant doctrine of, 331
- Cicero, definition of religion, 23
- Clan organization, among Semites, 268f.
- Clarke, W. N., definition of religion, 34
- Classification of religions, 53
- Clennell, W. J., on Chinese religion, 242f.
- Clodd, Edward, on tree-worship, 65
- Cochin-China, 216
- Codrington, R. H., on mana, 63
- Coe, G. A., definition of religion, 30f.; on religious nature of man, 37
- Columba, 337
- Communism, as religion, 32f.
- Communism, in Russia, 341f.
- Confucius, dates and life, 230f.; contrasted with Laocius, 238; teachings, 233ff.; estimate of human nature, 234f.; social and political reformer, 235f.; estimate of, 237
- Confucianism, as a religion, 236f.; in Japan, 261ff.
- Constantine, 335f.
- Constantinople, fall of, 308
- Coptic Church, 307
- Corinth, 334
- Cornelius, 326
- Council of Jerusalem, 326
- Councils, Buddhist, 210
- Covenant at Sinai, 271
- Cow, worshiped in India, 186
- Creation, in Bible and Babylonian myths, 112
- Creed of Islam, 299
- Crete, 117
- Cromer, Lord, on Egypt, 312
- Crusades, 308
- Cumae, 136
- Cunina, 133
- Cybele, 66, 141
- Cyrus, 110

- Dainichi, 254
 Dakhmas, 156, 160
 Dakota tribe of Indians, 72
 Dalai Lama, 218
 Damascus, 306
 Danube, 132
 Darwish orders, 305
 Das, Govinda, on transmigration, 171; on Hindu standards of orthodoxy, 175f.
 Dastur, 159
 David, 272f.
 Davids, Mrs. C. A. Rhys, on life and character of Gautama, 200
 Davids, T. W. Rhys, on death of the Buddha, 199; on extent of acceptance of the Buddha's teaching, 212
 Dayananda Sarasvati, 189f.
 Day of Judgment, in Islam, 290
 Dea Syria, 142
 Death, in animistic religion, 67f.
 DeGroot, J. J. M., on ancestor worship in China, 228
 Deists, English, on definition of religion, 26; on origin of religion, 41f.
 Delhi, 308
 Delphi, 122
 Deluge Story, in Babylonia, 112
 Demeter, in Greece, 122, 125, 137; in Rome, 137
 Desire, the root of evil in Buddhism, 196, 203
 Devi, 185
 Dhalla, M. N., on final victory of Ahura Mazda, 154
 Dharmakaya, 213, 215
 Dhyani Buddhas, 213, 257
 Diana of the Ephesians, 66, 138
 Difference, doctrine of, in Islam, 304
 Dionysus, in Greece, 124f.; in Rome, 137
 Diverra, 133
 Divination, in Babylonia, 113f.
 Dravidians, 170, 179
 Dreams, among animistic peoples, 62
 Driver, S. R., on Arpachshad, 267
 Dualism, in Zoroastrianism, 153
 Durga, 185
 Durkheim, Emile, on origin of religion, 44f.
 Dutch East Indies, Islam in, 216; Buddhism in, 216
 Ea, 110f.
 Eastern Roman Empire, 307f.
 Eber, children of, 267
 Edfu, 95
 Edinburgh, Faith and Order Conference, 346f.
 Edinburgh, Missionary Conference, 339ff., 346, 348
 Edkins, Joseph, on Chinese Buddhist sects, 241
 Edomites, 267
 Edula, 133
 Egypt, as gift of Nile, 92; Lower and Upper, 93ff.; exodus from, 270; Islam in, 306f.
 Elam, 108
 Elamites, 267
 Eleusinian Mysteries, 123, 125ff.
 Elijah, 273
 Elkab, 95
 Emanations, 328
 Emperor-worship, in Rome, 140; in Japan, 248
 Enlil, 110f.
 Enneads, in Egypt, 99
 Ephesus, 334
 Epicureanism, 130
 Eridu, 109f.
 Eskimos, 57
 Ethics, in Babylonia, 114f.; in Zoroastrianism, 154; in early Buddhism, 208f.; in Japan, 262f.
 Etruscans, 135
 Euhemerus, on gods as deified men, 67
 Euphrates, 101, 108ff.
 Euripides, 128
 Evangelical Revival, 332, 339
 Evangelist of the Exile, 274
 Exodus from Egypt, 270
 Exorcism, in animistic religion, 84; in China, 225
 Exogamy, 76f.
 Ezra, 282
 Fairbanks, Arthur, on Greek gods, 123
 Fair-mindedness, in study of religion, 19f.
 Farquhar, J. N., on Aryans in India, 163; on Brahman, 173; on Indian conservatism, 186; on religious reform, 186
 Fasting, in Islam, 300
 Fatima, 288, 311

- Fear, as motive in religion, 38; in animistic religion, 80
 Fellahin, in Egypt, 93
 Ferdinand and Isabella, 306
 Festivals, in Rome, 134f.
 Fetishism, derivation of word, 68; defined, 69; description of fetish, 69f.; origin of, 71
 Fetters, Ten, in Buddhism, 204
 Feudalism, in China and Japan, 249f., 262
 Filial piety, in China, 227f.; in Japan, 261
 Fire, among Aryans, 149; as symbol of Ahura Mazda, 157; in Parsi temples, 159
 Five Relations, of Confucius, 235; in Japan, 261f.
 Flint, Robert, on religion as universal, 35
 Fowler, W. Warde, on meaning of word religion, 23
 Francis of Assisi, 338
 Francke, 332
 Fravashis, 157
 Frazer, J. G., on exogamy, 76; on tabu, 78; on magic and religion, 89
 Freethinkers, in Islam, 303
 French Revolution and the Jews, 276
 Fugiwara family, 249
 Fundamentalists, in Christianity, 344f.
 Fung-Shui, wind and water, 227
 Future-Bodhisattva, 214f.
 Gabars, 158
 Gabriel, 297
 Gairdner, W. H. T., on spread of Islam, 307
 Galloway, George, on development of religion, 49; on evolution of tribal religion, 75; on animistic religion, 75
 Gandhi, M. K., 181, 187, 190
 Ganesa, 185
 Ganges Valley, 163, 192
 Garvie, A. E., on World Missionary Conference, 340
 Gathas, 152
 Gautama the Buddha, 192, 319; family name, 192; account of life, 193ff.; in Japan, 257, 259
 Geden, A. S., definition of religion, 29f.
 Genesis, book of, 112
 Genii, see Jinn
 Gentiles, 326; intermarriage with, 283
 Germany and the Holy War, 301
 Gibbon, Edward, on Islamic creed, 299
 Gilgamesh, 112
 Gita, see Bhagavadgita
 Gitangali, 190
 Gnosticism, 327
 God, doctrine of, in Islam, 302ff.
 Goldziher, I., on Shiites and Sunnis, 311
 Gonds, 57
 Goths, 337
 Grace, Augustine's doctrine of, 330
 Graeco-Roman religion, 138
 Grandmaison, L. de, definition of religion, 34
 Great Mother of the Gods, 139, 141
 Great Wall of China, 230
 Greek civilization, origin of, 118
 Greek influence in Rome, 135f.
 Greek thought in Christianity, 328
 Greek War of Independence, 308
 Gregory I, 337
 Gregory VII (Hildebrand), 337
 Griswold, H. D., on Ushas, 166
 Gupta dynasty, 182
 Hackmann, H., on Korean Buddhism, 221
 Haddon, A. C., on magic, 88
 Hades, 125f.
 Haggada, 278
 Halacha, 278
 Ham, 267
 Hamitic tribes, in Egypt, 93
 Hammurapi, 109, 111; code of, 115
 Hanifs, 288
 Hannibal, 66, 138
 Haoma (Soma), 149, 157
 Harnack, Adolph, on book of Acts, 334
 Harran, 110
 Hartland, E. S., on magic and religion, 89
 Hathor, 97
 Haug, M., on theology of Zoroaster, 153
 Haurvatat, 152

- Heaven, worshiped in China, 228f.
 Heavenly Ones, 148
 Hebrews, 270
 Hegel, definition of religion, 27
 Hegira, 293
 Hekt, 97
 Heliopolis, priests of, 94, 98ff.
 Henotheism (Monolatry), 167
 Hepatoscopy, divination by
 sheep's liver, 113
 Hephaistos, 122
 Hera, 122, 138
 Heraclitus, on impermanence,
 201f.
 Herbert of Cherbury, on religion,
 26
 Hermes, 122, 138
 Hermopolis, 96
 Herodotus, on Egypt as gift of
 Nile, 92; on embalming in
 Egypt, 104
 Hiezan, 253
 Hillel, 282
 Himalayan states, Buddhism in,
 218
 Hinayana, defined and described,
 210f.; in contrast with Mahay-
 ana, 212
 Hinduism, modified by Buddhism,
 181
 Hira, Mount, 289
 Hirohito, Emperor, 248
 Hitler, Adolf, 275, 343
 Hittites, 146
 Hobbes, Thomas, on religion, 26
 Höfding, Harald, definition of
 religion, 30
 Holy Spirit, 330
 Holy War, in Islam, 301
 Homer, 121
 Honen Shonin, 255
 Horus, 99, 141
 Houris, 304
 Hume, Robert E., credit given to,
 34 (note)
 Hurgronje, Snouck, on Holy War,
 301
 Ideas, of Plato, 129
 Ihram, 301
 Ijma (agreement), 298f.
 Ikhnaten, 101
 Iliad, 121
 Imam, 311f.
 Imhetep, 98
 Immortality, in Egypt, 103ff.; in
 Babylonia, 115; in Greece, 124f.;
 among Semites, 270
 Imperial House of Japan, 261f.
 Impermanence, doctrine of in
 Buddhism, 201
 Incantation rituals in Babylonia,
 114
 Incarnations in Hinduism, see
 avatars
 India, derivation of word, 163;
 Islam in, 308
 Indian Social Reformer, 190
 Indian unrest, 16, 187
 Indians, American, 57
 Indo-Europeans, 118, 145f., 148
 Indra, 166
 Indus, 163
 Initiation rites, among animists, 77
 Intolerance in religion, 22
 Iona, 337
 Iran, see Persia
 Iroquoian family of Indians, 63
 Isaac, sacrifice of, 82
 Isaiah, 274, 282
 Ise, 251
 Ishmaelites, 267
 Ishtar, 110ff.
 Isis, 98, 107, 142
 Islam, name defined, 286; effect of,
 in Africa, 309f.
 Israelites, 267
 Italy, 344
 Izanagi, 248
 Izanami, 248
 Jackson, A. V. W., on date of
 Zoroaster, 149f., 153
 Jains, religion of, 194
 James, E. O., on All-Fathers, 41
 James, William, definition of reli-
 gion, 28f.
 Janus, 133
 Japan, source of civilization, 246;
 in China, 244
 Japhet, 267
 Jastrow, Morris, Jr., on function
 of priest, 42; on gods of Baby-
 lonia, 110; on omens in Baby-
 lonia, 114
 Java, 57; Buddhism in, 216;
 Islam in, 309
 Jehovah, see Yahweh
 Jeremiah, 271, 274
 Jerusalem, 274, 318, 326

- Jerusalem, Missionary Conference, 348
 Jesuit missions, 341f.
 Jesus Christ, life and teaching, 318ff.; world vision of, 334; in Koran, 302; in early church, 325, 329; in Christian theology, 329f.; miracles of, 322f.; crucifixion of, 324f.; resurrection of, 325
 Jesus and the Sabbath, 79
 Jews, persecution of, 22; of Medina, 294f.
 Jihad, see Holy War
 Jimmu Tenno, 248
 Jinn in Islam, 301f.
 Jodo sect, 255
 John the Baptist, 318f.
 John, Gospel of, 328
 Jonah, 282
 Jordan, 318
 Joseph, 318
 Judaism, and early church, 325f.; Reform school and conservatives, 280ff., 283f.
 Judaizers, in early church, 326
 Judges, book of, 272
 Julius Caesar, 139
 Juno, 134, 138
 Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 133, 137f.
 Justinian, code of, 132
 Ka, 105
 Kaaba, 286, 300f.
 Kabbala, 280
 Kali, 185
 Kami, 247
 Kami-no-michi, 247
 Kanishka, 210
 Kant, definition of religion, 28
 Kapilavastu, 192, 198
 Karala, 185
 Karma, in Hinduism, 170f.; in Buddhism, 206f.
 Kasdim, 267
 Kathenotheism, 167
 Kelts, 146, 337
 Keshab Chundra Sen, 189
 Khadijah, 288ff., 295
 Khnum, 96f.
 Khshathra, 152
 Kiang-si, 239
 Kingsley, Mary, on fetishism, 68
 Kitchen-god, in Japan, 247
 Knox, G. W., on Shinto, 248; on Buddhist teaching in Japan, 260
 Kobo Daishi, 251, 254
 Kojiki, 248, 250
 Koraish, 287
 Koran, 289f., 313, 315; inspiration of, 297f.; and the Bible, 302
 Kore (Persephone), 138
 Korea, Buddhism in, 221
 Krishna, 183
 Kshattriyas, 179
 Kublai Khan, 259
 Kushan, mountain, 243
 Kwanyin, in China, 220, 242
 Kwei, 225
 Lamaism, in Tibet, 218f.
 Lamas, 218
 Lammens, Henri, on date of Mohammed, 287; on inspiration of Koran, 297
 Lang, Andrew, on Supreme Beings in animistic religion, 39f., 72
 Laocius (Lao-tse), life, 237; teaching, 237f.; and Confucius, 238
 Lares, 134
 Larsa, 109f.
 Lausanne, Conference on Faith and Order, 347
 Law, Jewish, 276ff.
 Lenin, Nicholai, 341
 LeRoy, Alexander, on All-Fathers, 72
 Lhassa, 219
 Liber, 137
 Libera, 138
 Lin Chi sect, 241
 Linga, 184
 Lithuanians, 337
 Little Orphan Island, 243
 Liver of sheep in divination, in Babylonia, 113; in Rome, 134
 Lloyd, Arthur, on Amida, 256ff.
 Locutius, 133
 Logos, used by Philo and John, 328
 Lolos, 57
 Loyalty, in Japan, 263
 Lu, 231
 Lubbock, Sir John, on tribes without religion, 35
 Lucretius, on origin of religion, 37
 Luperci, 135
 Luther, Martin, 331

- Lydians, 267
 McCurdy, J. F., on Semitic type, 268
 McTaggart, John, definition of religion, 27
 Maccabean revolt, 282
 Macdonald, D. B., on Mohammed's last years, 296; on Al-Ghazzali, 305
 Madhyamikas, nihilists, 215
 Madras, Missionary Conference, 348
 Magi, 155, 157
 Magic, relation to mana, 87; contagious, 88; mimetic, or homeopathic, 88; in Egypt, 106; in India, 168f.; in Indo-European religion, 148; in Tibet, 219
 Mahabarata, 183
 Mahavira, founder of Jain religion, 194
 Mahayana, defined, 211; contrasted with Hinayana, 212; in Dutch East Indies, 216; in China, Korea, and Japan, 217ff.; development in Japan, 253
 Mahdi, the guide, 311
 Mahmud of Ghazni, 308
 Maimonides, code of, 278ff.
 Maitriya Buddha, 212f.
 Mana, 64; and tabu, 78; and magic, 88
 Manchus, in China, 230, 243
 Manes, 134
 Manetho, on Egyptian history, 94
 Manitu, 63
 Manu, Institutes of, 179
 Maori tribe in New Zealand, 58
 Mara, 196
 Marduk, 111ff.
 Marett, R. R., on origin of religion, 43; on All-Fathers, 72f.; on Toda ritual, 77; on tabu, 78
 Marriage, in early church, 328; in India, 177f.
 Mars, 133, 138
 Martel, Charles, 306
 Martin of Tours, 337
 Maruts, 166
 Mary, mother of Jesus, 318
 Matter, as evil, 327f.
 Maya, illusion, 174
 Mazdah, see Ahura Mazda
 Mecca, 286f., 291, 293
 Medes and Persians, 110
 Medicine Men, see Priests
 Medina, 291, 293, 296
 Mediterranean Sea, 117
 Memphis, 96, 98
 Mencius, on filial-piety, 227; on Confucius, 232
 Mendelssohn, Moses, 276, 279
 Menes, 94f.
 Menzies, Allan, definition of religion, 29; on fetishism, 68f., 71; on Roman deities, 133
 Mercury, 138
 Mesopotamia, contrasted with Egypt, 95
 Messiah, 324; Messianic hope in Judaism, 280, 283, 325f.; in Islam, 311.
 Middle Ages, Christian church in, 337
 Middle Kingdom, in Egypt, 98
 Middle Way, of the Buddha, 195
 Midianites, 267
 Minerva, 138
 Minoan civilization, 117
 Minoan - Mycenaean civilization, 117
 Misery, see sorrow
 Mishnah, 278
 Missions, Buddhist, 209; Islamic, in Africa, 309f.; Christian, in Middle Ages, 337f.; modern, 339
 Missions and Culture, 58
 Mithraism, 142
 Mithras (Mithra, Mitra), 142f., 149, 151, 157, 165
 Mithreums, 143
 Mobeds, 159
 Modernists, in Christianity, 345
 Modi, Jivanji, on Parsi idea of salvation, 162
 Mogul emperors, 308
 Mohammed, 319; life and work, 287ff.; as pathological case, 290f.; sincerity of, 292f.; relations with Jews, 294f.; marriages, 295f.; as reformer, 296
 Mohammed Ibn Abd-el-Wahhab, 312f.
 Mohenjo-daro, India, 164
 Monasticism, in Buddhism, 207ff.; influence of, 219; in Southern Buddhism, 217; in Chinese Buddhism, 242

- Monier - Williams, Monier, on
Hinduism, 185
- Monolatry, see Henotheism
- Monotheism, in animistic religion,
71ff.; in Egypt, 101f.; in Persia,
152f.; in China, 224; in Israel,
274; in Judaism, 273f.; in Islam,
302f.
- Monsoon, in India, 166
- Montu, 98
- Moore, G. F., on primary motive
in religion, 38; on Egyptian
conservatism, 94; on Aten, 101;
on Plato, 129
- Morley, John, on definition of
religion, 23, 25
- Moros, 309
- Moses, 270f., 302, 319
- Mother-Earth, 119, 122
- Motoori, 250
- Moulton, J. H., on Mazdah, 151,
153f.; on magi, 155; on Aryan
gods, 157; on Parsi worship, 160
- Muezzin, 300
- Müller, Max, definition of religion,
27; on Indian gods, 167; on
dates of Vedic hymns, 169
- Mummification, in Egypt, 104f.
- Murray, Gilbert, on Greek reli-
gion, 130
- Murray, Middleton, on Com-
munism as a religion, 32
- Mustapha Kemal, of Turkey, 314
- Mut, 98
- Mutazilites, 303
- Mycenae, 117
- Mysticism, in Islam, 305
- Mythology, in Babylonia, 112; in
Greece, 122
- Naaman, 269
- Nagarjuna, 210
- Nandi, 184
- Nassau, R. H., on fetishism, 68ff.
- National stage of religious develop-
ment, 51f.
- Nationalism, as religion, 32f.; in
Islam, 314
- Natural interpretation of religion,
20f.
- Nazareth, 318
- Nazi Movement, 343
- Nebuchadrezzar, 110
- Negritos, of the Philippine Islands,
72
- Negro tribes, 57
- Nehemiah, 282
- Nehru, Motilal, 190
- Nembutsu, prayer formula, 255f.
- Nemesis, 128
- Neoplatonism, 131
- Neopythagoreans, 130f.
- Nepal, 192, 218
- Neptune, 138
- Nestorians, in China, 257
- New Guinea, 57
- New Kingdom, in Egypt, 100
- New Testament, 327
- New Zealand, 58
- Nicea, Council of, 329, 335, 340
- Nichiren, 258f.
- Nihongi, 248
- Nile River, 92; as deity, 96, 100;
underground, 106
- Nineveh, 109
- Nippur, 109f.
- Nirmanakaya, magical body, 215
- Nirvana, in Buddhism, 204, 206,
214
- Noah, 267, 302
- Noble Eightfold Path, 203f.
- Noble Fourfold Truth, 202ff.
- Nobunaga, 253
- Nodotus, 133
- Nöldeke, Theodor, on Allah, 286
- Nomes, in Egypt, 93, 95
- No-Soul doctrine, in Buddhism,
204f.
- Nubia, 101
- Numina, Roman deities, 133
- Octavius, see Augustus Caesar
- Odyssey, 121
- Ojibway (Chippewa) tribe of
Indians, 75
- Oldham, J. H., on Totalitarian
State, 343
- Old Testament as Bible of early
church, 327
- Olympus, 121
- Omayyad Caliphs, 306
- Omar, 291, 306
- Omens, in Babylonia, 113
- Orenda, 63
- Origen, quotes Celsus on Egyptian
religion, 96
- Orpheus, 126
- Orphic brotherhoods and religion,
126f.
- Orthodox Greek Church, 346

- Orthodoxy, in Hinduism, 176; emphasis on after Protestant Reformation, 332
 Osiris, 98, 100, 107, 142
 Osiris-Apis, 103
 Othman, 306
 Othmanli (Ottoman) Turks, 308
 Outcasts, in India, 178f.
 Oxford, Conference on Life and Work, 346

 Padmapani, see Avalokitesvara
 Palestine, 270, 274, 306
 Pali language, 199
 Pan-Islamism, 301, 314
 Pantheism, in India, 172ff.; in Japan, 259; of Spinoza, 280; in Islam, 305
 Paradise, in Mahayana, 214f.; in Islam, 304
 Paramahansa, R. K., 188
 Parsis, 145; come to India, 158; number of, 158; differences between, 161f.
 Passover, 324
 Patrick, 337
 Paul, 319, 326; the imperial-minded, 334
 Peiping (Peking), 218
 Penates, 134
 Penitential Psalms, in Babylonia, 114
 Persephone, in Greece, 125, 137
 Persia, 145f., 306, 311
 Pessimism, in Egypt, 103
 Peter, 326
 Pharisees, 324
 Philippines, 57, 309
 Philo, 328
 Philosophy, in Greece, 126f.; of Mahayana, 215
 Phoenicians, 267
 Phrygians, 146
 Pietistic Movement, in Germany, 332, 339
 Pilgrimage to Mecca, 301
 Pilgrims, Chinese Buddhist, 210
 Pilumnus, 133
 Pindar, Odes of, 128
 Pitakas (Baskets), early Buddhist literature, 199
 Plato, 129, 131
 Plotinus, 131
 Polis, Greek, 120
 Polynesia, 63

 Pomerium, 135, 137f.
 Pontius Pilate, 324
 Poseidon, 122, 138
 Prakriti, 175
 Pratt, J. B., on individual versus social religion, 29
 Prayer, in animistic religion, 83f.; cylinders in Tibet, 219; in Islam, 300
 Preanimistic religion, 43
 Precepts, Eight, in Buddhism, 208f.
 Priests, in animistic religion, 85f.; in Greece, 127; in Rome, 133f.; in Zoroastrianism, 159f.; in India, 168
 Progressive Brahmo Samaj, 189
 Prophets, in Israel, 272f.; in Islam, 302
 Proselytes in Judaism, 282
 Proserpina (Persephone), 138
 Protestant Episcopal Church, 346
 Protestantism, in relation to Catholic churches, 346
 Psychology, and study of religion, 36; in Egypt, 105; of early Buddhism, 202f.
 Ptah, 97f., 101
 Ptolemies, in Egypt, 95, 103
 Punjab, 163
 Puranas, 183
 Purification, in animistic religion, 84f.; among Parsis, 160f.
 Purusha, 175
 Puto Island, 243
 Pyramid Texts, 105
 Pyramids, as tombs, 105
 Pythagoras, 130

 Qias (analogy), in Islam, 299
 Quietism, in Japan, 263f.
 Quindecimviri, 137
 Quirinus, 133

 Ra, 98ff.
 Ra-Amen, 98
 Radhakrishnan, S., 190
 Radin, Paul, on All-Fathers, 41, 71f.; on fear in religion, 38; on wise men among animists, 86
 Ra-Horus, 98
 Rahula, 193
 Rama, 183
 Ramadan, Fast of, 300
 Ramanuja, 174f.

- Ramayana, 183
 Ram Mohan Ray, 189
 Rationalism among Parsis, 161
 Recapitulation, theory of, 37
 Reciprocity, in Confucianism, 236
 Reformation, Protestant, 331f.
 Reform school, in Judaism, 281f.
 Reichelt, K. L., on Chinese Buddhism, 242
 Reinach, Salomon, definition of religion, 25
 Reischauer, A. K., on Shingon sect, 254
 Religion, history of, 17; psychology of, 17f.; philosophy of, 18; derivation of word, 23; importance of study, 15f.; as social, 28; as individual, 28f.; as worship, 29f.; as value, 31f.; elements of definition of, 34
 Remmonkyo sect, 265
 Renaissance in Europe, 331
 Renunciation, of the Buddha, 193
 Revelation, primitive, 39
 Rhine River, 132
 Rigveda, 164, 167, 169, 172
 River civilizations, 91, 108
 Rivers, W. H. R., on native institutions, 59
 Rogers, A. K., on impermanence, 201
 Rogers, R. W., on deities of Babylonian, 110f.
 Roman Catholic Church, 132, 345f.
 Roman Law, 132
 Russia, Communism in, 341f.
 Ryobu-Shinto, 250
 Sanhedrin, 324
 Sankara, 172, 174
 Sankhya, 175
 Sanskrit, 164
 Saoshyant, 154
 Saoud, Ibn, 313
 Sassanids, 155
 Sati (Suttee), 178
 Saul, 272f.
 Scandinavians, 146
 Scapegoat, in Leviticus, 83
 Schechter, Solomon, on schools in Judaism, 281
 Schleiermacher, definition of religion, 27
 Schmidt, W., on All-Fathers, 40f.
 Scholastic philosophy, in Islam, 303
 Schools of the Prophets, 272f.
 Schrader, Otto, on Indo-European religion, 147f.
 Science, Western, in Japan, 264f.
 Scientific development in recent decades, 340f.
 Scythians, 146
 Sectarianism, in Hinduism, 182f.
 Sects, in Chinese Buddhism, 241; in Japanese Buddhism, 252f.
 Segetia, 133
 Seia, 133
 Sekhmet, 97f.
 Seljukian Turks, 308
 Selknam tribe in Tierra del Fuego, 72
 Semites, in Egypt, 93; in Mesopotamia, 108f.; Northern and Southern, 267
 Semitic civilization, 268f.
 Serapis, 103
 Sergi, Giuseppe, definition of religion, 25
 Set, 100, 107
 Sex, in Babylonian, 112; laxity in Islam, 307
 Shamans, see Priests
 Shamash, 110f.
 Shammai, 282
 Shang-ti, 229
 Sheik-ul-Islam, 301
 Shem, 267
 Shen, 225, 247
 Shi Huang-ti, 230
 Shiites, 311f.
 Shingon sect, 254
 Shinran Shonin, 255f., 258

- Shin sect, 255ff., 260
 Shinto, defined, 247; revival of, 250; mixed with Buddhism, 250f.; contrasted with Buddhism, 252; and Emperor worship, 248
 Shotoku Taishi, 221, 251
 Shrine Question, 265f.
 Shun, 230
 Siam, Buddhism in, 212, 215, 217
 Sibylline books, 136ff.
 Siddhartha, given name of the Buddha, 192
 Signs, Three Fundamental, in Buddhism, 201ff.
 Sin, 110f., 114
 Sin, in Islam, 304
 Sinai, 270
 Sioux family of Indians, 63
 Sippar, 110
 Siva, 182, 184f.
 Skandhas, 205
 Slave trade and Islam, 307, 309
 Slavic peoples, 146, 337
 Smith, Elliott, on Amenhotep IV, 102
 Smith, W. C., on Ao Naga tribe, 58f.
 Smith, W. R., on ritual and belief, 79
 Sobieski, King John, 308
 Social Gospel, 345
 Sociological theory of origin of religion, 44f.
 Socrates, 129
 Söderblom, Nathan, on individualism in religion, 45; on Zoroaster, 151
 Solar pantheism, in Egypt, 99
 Sol Invictus, 66, 143
 Solomon, 273
 Soma, 165f.
 Soothill, W. E., on early religion in China, 224; on Tao, 238
 Sophocles, 128
 Sorrow, in Buddhism, 202f.
 Southern Buddhism, 212
 South Sea Islands, 58
 Spain, 306
 Spencer, Herbert, on origin of religion, 44, 64
 Spener, 332
 Spenta Mainyu, 153
 Spinoza, 280
 Spirits, in animistic religion, 62
 Spring and Autumn Annals, 232
 Stalin, Joseph, 341f.
 State religion, in China, 228f.
 Statina, 133
 Stockholm, Conference on Life and Work, 346
 Stoicism, 130
 Stone-worship, among animists, 65f.
 Sudan, 309
 Sudras, 179
 Suffering, in Buddhism, 202f.
 Sultan, 301
 Sumatra, 57, 216
 Sumerians, 108
 Sun, in Chinese animism, 225f.
 Sunna, in Islam, 298, 311
 Sunni Mohammedans, 311
 Sun Yat-sen, 243f.
 Superior man, ideal of Confucius, 233f.
 Superstition, in animism and civilized countries, 56
 Supreme Beings, in animistic religion, 71f.
 Swaraj, self-rule, 187
 Synagogue, 277, 282
 Syria, 142, 306, 328
 Sze-chuan, 239
 Table Prepared, 278
 Taboo (Tabu), 77ff.
 Tada Kanai, on Amida, 256
 Tagore, Rabindranath, 190
 Talmud, 278
 Tao, defined, 238; in Japan, 247
 Taoism today, 239
 Taoist popes, 239
 Tao Teh King, of Laocius, 237f.
 Targum, 278
 Tarquin, 136
 Taurobolium, 141
 Teh, defined, 238
 Templum, 136
 Tendai sect, 253f.
 Tenrikyo sect, 265
 Teutonic peoples, 146, 337
 Thebes, 98, 100ff.; priests of, 94; in Greece, 128; Amen, god of, 98ff.
 Theistic Church, in India, 189
 Theosophy among Parsis, 161
 Thomas Aquinas (Thomism), 338
 Thomas, N. W., on sacrifice, 82
 Thor, 343

- Thouth (Thoth), 96, 98
 Thrace, 124
 Tiamat, 112
 Tibet, Buddhism in, 218f.
 Tien, 229
 Tigris River, 109
 Tiryns, 117
 Tishtrya, 157
 Todas, 77f.
 Tokugawa family, 249f.; and Buddhism, 260
 Tolerance in study of religion, 22
 Torah, see Law, Jewish
 Torres Straits, magic in, 88
 Totalitarian State, 343
 Totemism, and origin of religion, 45, 75f.; defined, 77; in Egypt, 97
 Tours, Battle of, 306
 Towers of Silence, 156, 160
 Toy, C. H., on mana, 63
 Traditions, in Islam, 298
 Transmigration, in Hinduism, 170f.; in Buddhism, 205f.
 Tree-worship, among animists, 65
 Triads, in Egypt, 98f.; in Babylonia, 111
 Tribal stage of religious development, 50f.
 Trimurti, 182
 Trinity, Christian doctrine of, 330
 Turanians, 151
 Turkey and the World War, 301
 Turks, in Islam, 306, 308
 Tutankhamen, 102
 Tutilina, 133
 Twet, 106
 Twice-born, in India, 179
 Tylor, E. B., definition of religion, 27; on origin of religion, 42f.; on fetishism, 69
 Typhon (Set), 142
 Ulfilas, 337
 Universal stage of religious development, 52f.
 Untouchability in India, 181
 Upanishads, 171f., 174
 Ur, 109f.
 Urquhart, W. S., on Sankara, 174
 Uruk, 109ff.
 Ushabti-figures, 105
 Ushas, 166f.
 Utrecht, Conference on World Council of Churches, 348f.
 Vairochana, 254
 Vaishnavas, 184
 Vaisyas, 179
 Varuna, 165
 Vedanta, 172, 174f.
 Vedanta Sutras, 174
 Vedas, 169ff.
 Vendidad, 156
 Venus, 138
 Vesta, 133f.
 Vienna, 308
 Vijnanavadins, idealists, 215
 Vishnu, 165, 182f.
 Vishtaspa, 150
 Vivekananda, Swami, 188
 Vohu Manah, 152
 Waddell, L. A., on Tibetan monasticism, 219
 Wahhabis, 313
 Wakan, 63
 Ward, C. H. S., on Animism in Buddhism, 217
 Waterhouse, Eric S., on religious origins, 41
 Watson, A. C., definition on religion, 29
 Webb, C. C. J., on definition of religion, 23f.
 Weeks, J. H., on fear among animists, 80
 Wellhausen, Julius, on Arabian deities, 286
 Wesley, John, 332
 Whitefield, George, 332
 Whitehead, A. N., definition of religion, 28f.
 Widows in India, 178
 Wilmette, Illinois, 312
 Winnebago tribe of Indians, 72
 Witch Doctors, see Priests
 Woden, 343
 Woman, in Hinduism, 177, in Buddhism, 195f.; in China, 227; in Islam, 295f.
 Wood, H. G., on Communism as a religion, 32
 World Council of Churches, 348
 World War and Islam, 308
 Worship, in animistic religion, 79ff.; motive of, 80; in Greece, 122f.; in Rome, 133f.; in Hinduism, 167; lack of in early Buddhism, 202; in China, 228f.

- Wright, W. K., definition of Yu, 230
 religion, 31
- Wundt, Wilhelm, on exogamy, 76
- Yahweh (Jehovah), 271f.
- Yajurveda, 169
- Yama, 165f., 218
- Yao, 230
- Yashts, 157
- Yasna, 159
- Young Men's Buddhist Association, 258
- Young Men's Moslem Association, 316
- Zeid, adopted son of Mohammed, 295; amanuensis of Mohammed, 297
- Zemzem, 286, 301
- Zen sect, 254f.
- Zeus, 119ff., 128, 138
- Zi, 110
- Zionism, 274
- Zoroaster (Zarathustra), life and work, 149ff.; teaching, 151ff.; as monotheist, 152f., contrasted with Jesus Christ, 152; limitations, 154

$$\frac{14}{30}$$

$$\frac{700}{24}$$

$$\frac{300}{21\frac{6}{4}}$$

$$29\frac{4}{24}$$

$$29\frac{1}{6}$$

290

22209

S

Soper, Edmund D
Religions of mankind

DATE DUE			
FEB 8 '67	NOV 17		
JAN 1 '67	JAN 2 1968		
JUN 10 '67	JAN 16 1968		
OCT 16 '67	1/30/69		
DEC 14 '67	2/10/69		
JAN 5 '68	DEC 18 '69		
FEB 1 '68	NOV 25 70		
FEB 22 '68	NOV 2 1971		
JUL 1 '68	Apr 12 73		
OCT 4 1968			
OCT 19 1968			
GAYLORD M-2			PRINTED IN U.S.A.

NORRIS PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 0254 1005 8565 1

